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CANADIAN ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES

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CANADIAN ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES

BY

W. PETERSON

PRINCIPAL AND VICE-CHANCELLOR OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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TO

TWO CHANCELLORS OF McGILL

THE LATE LORD STRATHCONA

AND

SIR WILLIAM MACDONALD

PREFACE.

This book is published as a memorial volume. It is, in its way, a record of the period which has elapsed since the author took up his Canadian citizenship—now nearly twenty years ago. But let it be said at once that he is under no illusions as to the reception it is likely to meet with or the vogue it is likely to enjoy. He is well aware that these addresses and papers may turn out to have mainly a local interest, and that some of them may be considered even out of date, especially since the sudden outbreak of this appalling world-war. But if their publication should be criticized as superfluous and unnecessary, he would only plead in extenuation the fact that they form, to some extent, a record of institutional policy as well as of individual opinion, and that he has felt strongly on many of the subjects with which they deal.

This last remark refers especially to the imperial series, which was selected, like the rest, from a mass of available material before the war broke out. Some of the misunderstandings that surround the imperial issue might be cleared away if individuals would only examine themselves intelligently, and frankly declare which way their aspirations tend. The writer has sought to give a reason for the faith and hope that are in him; those who have regarded his reported attitude as ultra-imperialist will have the opportunity now, if they care to take it, of

reading the written word, and discovering wherein their sympathies really differ from his. Of course there will always be some who hold that the question is not one of aspiration or sympathy: however alluring may be the prospect of some form of imperial unity, it is to them a practical impossibility, an unrealizable dream, and "there's an end on't!"

As to the second part, there is one consideration that may help to link it with the imperial series. The University, especially when it comprises constituent and more or less self-governing colleges, is in a sense a microcosm of Empire. Both are systems that need organization, but of both it may be said that even the most perfect outward form would not suffice if it were not animated and inspired in every separate section by a conscious unity of aims and purposes. "Autonomy" and "individuality" should not be the only words to conjure with: there is also the ideal of the due subordination of the parts to the whole and of the harmonizing of what may seem to be conflicting interests with the general good.

The wide extent of territory over which these addresses were delivered may help to lend them an additional element of interest. It is one of the privileges which the world of education shares with the Church that those who aspire to leadership are in constant demand all over the country for ceremonial appearances involving more or less oratory. The notes from which many of the papers have been reconstructed show that, in the author's case at least, whatever may be thought of the results, the element of careful thought and preparation has seldom been wanting.

McGill University,
Montreal, *September*, 1914.

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PART FIRST

THE RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES.[1]

Forget not whence the breath was blown
That wafted you afar.
—W. Watson.

I never rose to address any audience with feelings of greater responsibility and greater diffidence—I might almost say perturbation—than on the present occasion. Till this morning I had never seen New York, and a week or two ago it would have required some gift of prophecy to foretell that I should now be standing up before an audience of American citizens to address them on a topic of such far-reaching import. But no matter how I may acquit myself in your hearing to-night—and I fear I shall respond very imperfectly to the demands that have been laid upon me—I shall always regard it as one of the most interesting incidents of my life that, within only a few months of having taken up my abode in another part of this vast continent, and at a time when the great heart of English-speaking humanity has been touched to its core by the untoward course of recent events, I should have been honoured with an invitation to address you in this city on the "relations of the English-speaking peoples". To my care has been entrusted to-night the presentation of what I may call the case for Anglo-Saxon unity. I have to set before you not only the relations which exist between the component parts of the British Empire, but also the considerations that ought to draw together into a wider unity—a unity at least of moral force and sentiment—those whom

[1] An address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in New York, 13 March, 1896.

geographical position and the course of historical development have parted asunder into two separate and distinct nationalities, but to whom it is still open to think of themselves as one,—"two nations but one people," sharing the same blood, the same language, and under different forms the same freedom.

Gentlemen, it is a proud privilege to speak on such a subject, before such an audience. The occasion is one which might well inflame with eloquence the most inarticulate of speakers. As regards myself, there is also an element of freshness, and even adventure, which I trust may gain for me the indulgence of any who may be predisposed to weigh critically the utterance which I have the honour to address to you. Only a few short months ago, I was a peaceful dweller in that country over seas which—if it is often made the mark for humorous allusions of the postprandial order—may at the same time be said to enjoy in a special degree the favour of the New World, in respect not only of its wealth of romantic traditions, its rich inheritance of song and story, but also of the fact that it was privileged to write on some of the earliest pages of modern history those lessons of rugged independence and stout resistance to oppression which are so dear to the heart of your people. By way of Canada, gentlemen, I have come to you from Scotland. And so once more, in my humble person,

> the Old and New World reach their hands
> Across the water, and the friendly lands
> Talk with each other from their severed strands.

And I am glad, in such times as these, that on the occasion of this my first visit to the United States I should enjoy the delightful privilege of being welcomed by a society of university men. Of the many benefits that may be derived from a university training, not the least conspicuous, I take it, is a certain sanity of judgment, a trained intelligence, such as is required for dealing with complex considerations. The power to think aright, to view things in their true relations, to rise above all that is narrow, and local, and partial, is or ought to be, in my opinion, the most distinguishing characteristic of the educated man. That power, that faculty was never

more needed than it is in the world to-day, when, in the very closing years of what an indignant orator once referred to as the *so-called* nineteenth century, it appeared for a time as though the whole fabric of Anglo-Saxon civilization were fated once again to be shaken to its base—by the stirring of smouldering animosities, by the revival of all the instincts of savagery and barbarism, even by an appeal to the arbitrament of war.

Out of evil good has often come, and we have much reason to hope that it may be so also in the present instance. We are all so self-centred—so intent upon our own affairs—that we ought almost to be thankful for anything that stirs us to the consciousness of greater interdependence and wider responsibilities. The people on the other side of the water have certainly enjoyed abundant opportunities, during the last few months, of seeing themselves as others see them; and if there is any truth in the view that the opinion of foreign nations is apt to become the verdict of posterity, one might almost tremble for the future of the British Empire. And yet there are some features in the picture that can hardly fail to bring a smile of indulgent good-will to the face of even the most relentless critic. Poor John Bull, in the course of his long life, has given many "hostages to fortune". He is the father of a very numerous progeny. And so it is coming to be more and more difficult for him to regulate his family affairs without giving offence in some quarter. In the effort to do so, he has been learning many lessons. Time was when he felt himself to be the lineal successor of Imperial Rome, called on to do the world's work with rough-and-ready justice, and by no means oversensitive to the susceptibilities of others. When not engaged in fighting for the liberties of Europe, or even for self-preservation, he was occupied in working out a colonial policy of which it may be confidently said that, with all its blunders, it has materially advanced the civilization of the world. His great successes have reacted on his naturally self-reliant disposition to produce certain more or less unamiable characteristics. It may be that he will refuse to plead guilty

to the charge that "insatiable greed" is everywhere the dominant note of his national policy. He does not recognize himself when he is told that, while he delights to bully and oppress weaker vessels in far-off corners of the world where his doings cannot be watched, he will at once catch up his coat and run if confronted with a champion as strong as himself. But it cannot be denied that he has developed that "certain condescension" which was charged against him by one of your own great writers—for whose death he mourned with a keen sense of personal loss. His domineering, conceited, and intolerant ways have been bred in him by a long and almost uninterrupted career of success, in the course of which he has come into collision with every nation in Europe. And the result is that he is inclined to look on himself and his children as in every way better and stronger and manlier and—well, generally, less "foreign" than they.

But for all that, gentlemen, I stand here to affirm that the heart and conscience of the nation which John Bull represents are sound at the core. The people of the old country are insular and independent and self-reliant; they have taught their colonies also the lessons they have learned, often in the school of bitter experience. But they are not unconscionable, as they are sometimes said to be. They have had to do a good deal of the dirty work of the world, in the course of their long history. But it cannot be charged against them that their national activity, taken as a whole, has been anything like an obstacle in the way of the world's progress. In the midst of new and somewhat unfamiliar surroundings, I purposely choose an indirect and qualified method of expression. But the statement here made could be most confidently advanced in regard to the past; and as one who believes that his country's course is not yet run, and that her star is still far from setting, I will venture to make it also in regard to the future. The best security for the permanence of British rule, both at home and abroad, will continue to be—as we think it has been to a great extent in the past—a due regard for the greatest good of the greatest number, for the cause of law and order, civilization and progress.

It is only too probable, I fear, that in more than one quarter on this continent there has been a comparative failure to realize the degree to which our ideals of things civil and political have been enlarged and extended in the old country, and our conceptions widened and improved. The excellence of their own political institutions ought not to blind the people of the United States to the steady growth of democratic principles in other countries. The measure of the debt of the Old World to the New may be found in the increased sympathy with popular government which is so potent an element to-day in the councils of Europe. You must of course draw an indulgent veil over the venerable relics of feudalism which linger on with us—many of them preserved from an altogether creditable disinclination to break entirely with the past, and in something of the same spirit as that which prompts old families to retain their grandfather's clocks, even if these revered heirlooms have lost the faculty of keeping absolutely correct time. With us, as well as with you, it may be said that

> there is gradual growth that will not brook
> The heaping up and clogging of the past.

I trust I may venture to say that it is an amiable delusion to imagine that Britain, because it is monarchical, is therefore essentially a less democratic country than the United States. The sovereignty of the people is a principle which seems to me at least to be as fully recognized in the old country as it is with you. There is nothing incompatible with democratic ideals even in the schemes of which we have lately heard so much for federating the empire—an empire that is based, not on despotism, but on freedom and liberty. The discussion of these schemes has done a good deal to show what British hopes and British purposes in the world really are. The big blunder which we made now over a hundred years ago saved us from any further temptation to play the part of an unjust stepmother to our colonies. We can truly say in the words which were even then used by Edmund Burke that our hold of the colonies "is in the

close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron." The first duty, therefore, that has to be discharged in promoting harmonious relations among English-speaking peoples is one that falls directly upon ourselves. We must do everything we can to maintain and strengthen the ties which have held and are holding together the various constituent portions of the empire. Fortunately for the old country, this task will be made all the easier by the loyal and sympathetic attitude of the colonies themselves. Britain is reaping the reward to-day of the attitude into which she may almost be said to have "blundered" when she let the world know that her colonies were free to leave her if they wanted to. No other empire could have afforded to display such magnanimity, even if to some of us it may have seemed, for a time, that the declaration was needlessly insisted on, and repeated with regrettable emphasis and unnecessary frequency. But the reward has come, as I have said, in the attitude of the colonies themselves. They do not boggle over the subordinate relation that is meanwhile implied in the use of such a phrase as "dependencies of the Empire": they recognize themselves for what they are in fact, "democratic republics under the gentle sovereignty of the parent state". Not even the "world of seas" that divides them from the home-land need bar them from a living contact with our national existence, or prevent them from realizing their partnership in a magnificent ocean empire. The life of our nation is being continued and extended in this equal citizenship beyond the seas, and the firm attachment of her colonies is the crown and glory of the old age of the mother country. "When we have accustomed ourselves," said the late Professor Seeley, "to contemplate the whole Empire together and call it all England, we shall see that here too is a United States." And in the same strain our latest poet, apostrophizing the Colonies, can say with truth

> Young is she yet, her world-task but begun!
> By you we know her safe, and know by you
> Her veins are million but her heart is one.

Gentlemen, you will forgive one who has so recently transferred his citizenship from the old country to the great Dominion that lies along your northern border for the enthusiasm with which he has addressed himself to the subject of the relations of the English-speaking colonies to the Empire. I turn now to consider the wider unity—the unity of moral force and sentiment—that ought to weld together the two great sections of the Anglo-Saxon race. Here, too, I trust I may count upon the sympathy of my audience—apart at least from existing complications. For are we not all familiar with utterances which go to show that in all essentials of national unity the subjects of the British Crown are one with the citizens of the great Republic? They are "bound together by links stronger than laws and constitutions can create; they are bound together by religion and race; by a common history, language, and literature. . . . And the statesman who in the fulness of time shall bring about the federation of all English-speaking peoples will have done a signal service, not only in the consolidation of kindred races, but in creating a peaceful instrument for establishing peace and extending civilization."

I have been told that among the sixty-five odd millions of people who inhabit the United States of America there are probably only about a million and a half that would be at all likely to attach weight to arguments for peace and good-will based upon the kinship of the two peoples. Indeed I have seen the statement somewhere in print: and in these latter days that is of course the best proof of the correctness of an assertion! Gentlemen, if I believed in the infallible truth of the statement in question, it would be with a heavy heart that I speak to you to-night. I know how vast is the volume of the tide of immigration that has reached your shores from other countries than Britain. But I know also in how marvellous a fashion the process of assimilation has been

going on, and how in particular the English language has everywhere asserted its supremacy in your midst. And I refuse to believe that the vast body of your people is blind to the ties of kinship that exist between us, and deaf to the soft voices that call for the establishment of a league of mutual peace and good-will. Indeed it is only in view of the delicate character of existing situations that I feel it at all necessary to weigh my words well in speaking of this subject. We must all rejoice in the splendid utterances of those who, on both sides of the Atlantic, have refused to credit the possibility of any permanent breach between America and Great Britain. Aristotle said long ago, speaking of revolutions, that they "arise out of small incidents, but from great causes". So also in regard to wars: the "small incidents" may be present with us, but none of us believes that there can ever conceivably be any sufficient cause for war. How is it that we have come to drift so far apart, if apart we have drifted? Some one has said that the two democracies are to be compared to elderly relatives, settled in different parts of the same country, who have outgrown the youthful enthusiasm for regular correspondence. The masses of the community on either side are too greatly absorbed in their own affairs to find much time nowadays for mutual appreciation or mutual admiration. There may be here in America the idea that you have little to learn from us, while with us it must be taken as an undoubted fact that your significance as a democracy is not what it was in the days when you enjoyed the distinction of being almost the sole exponents of the art of popular government. John Burns and Keir Hardie have recently reported on their visits to the States in terms far different from those which would have been used by leaders of their class in the days when America exercised an unrivalled power of magnetic attraction over the minds of all who despaired of achieving, in the Old World, equality of social conditions. Again, the policy of non-intervention which has so wisely marked your conduct of external affairs is responsible for the fact that it is only on the emergence of some grave difficulty that the two peoples are brought into

national contact with each other. A conflict of wills is not the best school of harmony.

But at the same time there are influences at work on both sides of the Atlantic that ought to make for harmony. We on our side are sincere in our appreciation of the magnificent spectacle that may be witnessed here of an altogether phenomenal growth in material prosperity. We admire—with a touch, perhaps, of something like parental pride—the political genius which has enabled you, within what is, comparatively speaking, so short a period of time, to extend your institutions and your whole national system across the breadth of this vast continent. We rejoice, in fact, that the experience of yet another century has confirmed the predictions which Edmund Burke, in a well-known passage, puts in the mouth of the "angel" of the aged Lord Bathurst: "Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life!" He would indeed be unworthy of the name of Englishman who did not rejoice at the greatness and prosperity of the great Western Land that was founded by men of his own race and blood. Over the deep Atlantic has passed, in this latest age of the world's history, the same spirit of development and progress that showed itself in earlier times among the various nations which dwelt round the basin of the Mediterranean. The modern kingdoms of France, Spain, and Portugal have been evolved out of the uniformity which the old empire of Rome induced among the Latin races. In the course of historical development, England has become almost their universal heir in the matter of colonies and provinces; and America is a second England—settled by immigrants who sailed across the seas, and working continuously since its foundation for the realization of higher political ideals and for the providing of better opportunities for the exercise of a common citizenship. To me, gentlemen, holding these sentiments, and believing, as I do believe, that they are the sentiments uni-

versally entertained by my countrymen, it is well-nigh inconceivable that in this age of the world's progress the two representatives of Anglo-Saxon civilization will ever enter on a fratricidal struggle to decide which shall be the greater. The breach which has been allowed to widen between us is capable of being filled. If only it were not considered necessary for our statesmen, in the discharge of their political duties, to indite long letters to each other which must inevitably contain—as so often happens also in private correspondence—some root of bitterness which is hidden from the writer, and if an earnest effort could be made to avoid anything that might tend to wound our mutual susceptibilities, a permanent reconciliation might be effected. In their quarrels nations are often like children. And unfortunately the organs of national opinion, the newspapers, do not always use language that makes for peace. King Demos has to be tickled, and made to realize what a powerful and discriminating champion he has in this or that journal—one who will brook no insult from any foreign foe! I have been glad to notice how cordially many of your newspapers, especially here in New York, have responded to the expressions of disinterested brotherly attachment which have found utterance in most of the organs of public opinion in the old country during the recent troubles. There has been a searching of hearts on both sides that ought to lead to a better understanding for the future. It may be also that things have been said which should go far to remove much of the ancient bitterness and animosity. I do not know whether what I may refer to as provincial opinion in the United States realizes that we are as fully conscious as any American can be of the folly of British policy now over one hundred years ago. No one would seek to minimize the importance of the Revolution—"an event not only of greater importance but on an altogether higher level of importance than almost any other in modern English History" (Seeley). But what we say is that lapse of time and the growth of the critical spirit ought to enable intelligent persons to view the feuds of last century in their true light and proportion. Things were even more mixed in

the world then than they are to-day: you must remember that seventeen years after the Declaration of Independence King George still called himself King of France! In particular, the management of colonies was not understood in that age by any European government. Those of Spain, France, and Portugal at their best were not so independent as were the famous "Thirteen" even at their lowest point of maladministration. A true historical perspective would seem to suggest that none but Englishmen, nurtured on the traditions of freedom, would have thought of rebelling at such a state of things as existed in 1775; and it would therefore appear to be as unreasonable to let the events of that unhappy war come between us now as it would be to censure the States for not immediately, even in the days of their infancy, abolishing slavery. It looks sometimes as if it were the interest of individuals to keep open old sores, and to prevent the dead past from burying its dead. The young people of your country are trained in the knowledge of what must ever be to you a great national memory: they are even taught that the events of 1812,[1] and our attitude and actings during your great Civil War, must remain an indelible stigma on the whole nation. As for us, it is no doubt chargeable on our national superciliousness and indifference that, though we freely express contrition for the wrong we sought to inflict on you, the incidents of the revolutionary struggle are no longer indelibly engraved on popular recollection. In your schools the history of that great struggle is not unnaturally taught with a view to inspiring the noble sentiment of patriotism: England is to the youth of America the Pharaoh that would not let the people go. With us the story is made to yield the lesson—discoverable in many another crisis of the world's history—that wrong can never be expected to triumph over right. I doubt whether the vast majority of those who read the story on the other side of the Atlantic do not thoroughly sympathize with those who proved the victors in the struggle.

[1] See an article in "Blackwood" for January, 1896, "How American History is Written".

Well, gentlemen, we lost the best chance of maintaining for yet awhile longer the solidarity of the Anglo-Saxon name when we parted company now over a century ago. But we may console ourselves by recognizing the marvellous results that have flowed to the world at large from the establishment of the independence of your grand republic. We may console ourselves also with the thought that if political separation had not come about at that particular time and in that particular way, the defects of the old colonial system would have made it sooner or later inevitable. No one could expect to see the various families of our race united for all time under a common government. None the less it behoves us now to do all we can to nurse the forces of cohesion that are at work in our midst, and to draw near to each other in the moral unity of a real brotherhood. The best guarantees for the continuance of mutual goodwill are surely to be found in that of which I know we are all equally proud—community of race, language, literature, religion, and institutions, together with the glorious traditions of a common history. The fairest portions of the earth have fallen to us for an inheritance, and even while we remain apart there should be no political ideal so stimulating for us as that of the hearty sympathy and enlightened co-operation of the various branches of our race. "There is no topic so pregnant as this. . . . The whole future of the planet depends upon it" (Seeley). It is probably owing to a certain lack of imagination in the Anglo-Saxon temperament that we have failed to see that the obstacles to such a racial federation are not of equal magnitude with those which have been overcome in less worthy causes. The world is looking for a reign of peace, the consummation of the movement which began with the *Pax Dei* of the eleventh century. Peace is no longer the greatest of British interests merely, as it was defined to be by the late Lord Derby. Recent events are showing that it is an interest which may be endangered also for you—to whom freedom from external complications is so essential in the work that lies before you of developing high ideals of responsible citizenship and diffusing a high

standard of cultivated tastes throughout the length and breadth of your land. If we could only come to a proper understanding with each other, there can be no doubt that a perpetual league of amity might be established between the two great Anglo-Saxon commonwealths. Such a league would react on the military monarchies of Europe. It is a mark of progress that, even in the most emperor-ridden of them all, anything like a repetition of the performances of the First Napoleon is well-nigh inconceivable. Militarism is rampant, and the people still live under the "shadow of the sword"; but deep down in the national consciousness is the resolve that no individual shall be permitted to play havoc with a country's destinies. A racial federation between Britain and America would probably prove a potent factor in hastening the era of general disarmament. But even if such a federation be a dream, we should still be able to act together for the maintenance of peace. Our commercial interests may be by no means identical; but surely the struggle to capture the markets of the world will never become so acute as to permanently disturb the relations which exist between us at present. No: we ought to be able to throw our joint weight into the peaceful development of the resources which lie at our command, for the benefit of civilization. Even with a more or less marked individuality of political growth and commercial progress, we may still prove ourselves to be

> a mighty brotherhood
> Linked by a jealous interchange of good.

I have not made any definite reference hitherto to the concrete conditions with which we are confronted at the present time, and until the settlement which we all expect has been effected it might be more discreet to ignore them altogether. If the language that was recently addressed to the Government of Great Britain is to be taken as meaning that the theory of "natural boundaries" is gaining converts in the United States of America, and that the intervention of three thousand miles of ocean between the parent country

and its colonies is regarded as making their union unnatural and inexpedient, then trouble is certain to result, sooner or later. Such a manifesto would be interpreted in Britain as a "notice to quit"—not only British Guiana, and Honduras, and Trinidad, but Canada as well. If, in the unforeseen course of development, it is fated that this attitude is one day to be adopted by the United States, the issue will undoubtedly have to be met. Let us hope, however, that it will always continue to be a monopoly of the noisier and less intelligent representatives of political thought in this country!

I may be allowed also to say that no one can fail to appreciate the patriotic spirit with which Americans declared that if there is going to be trouble they will be on the side of their country, no matter who it be that is against them. I should like at the same time to vindicate the claim which I have already made on behalf of the great mass of the inhabitants of the British Isles. I have said that they are not greedy, grasping, and unconscionable, as they are often represented to be. For the purpose of my argument I content myself with an enumeration of their virtues on the negative side. And I am confident that when the famous Presidential Message reached our shores,—after the bewildered look that is apt to come over John Bull when he realizes that he is to be in hot water once again,—after the first fit of surprise, with consequent rubbing of eyes and spectacles, and a leisurely examination of the map—the almost unanimous sentiment of the people at large was not, *Well, we will soon show these Americans*, but rather, *Well, we must see whether our case is really as strong as we believed it to be.* I have carefully watched the expressions of opinion which have come to us from the other side during the last few months, and as a British subject I am proud that they have been marked almost universally by such tolerance, such generosity, such brotherly kindness, and such a conscientious desire to do what is right.

But no one can be blind to the fact that during outbursts of intense feeling, nations which are at heart essentially

friendly to each other may often be really standing on the brink of a precipice. There were times during the last few months when it seemed as if the advance of our common civilization were about to receive a sudden check—nay, as if it were to be almost overwhelmed in what would have proved a veritable cataclysm. Can anything be done to guard against the recurrence of such evil times? I am glad to be able, in this connexion, to use the language of one of your own authorities, who, writing in the current number of one of your monthly journals,[1] expresses the opinion that it "would not be a difficult matter to negotiate a treaty between England and the United States which would, for example, recognize the essential principle of the Monroe Doctrine on the one hand, and on the other pledge England the support of the United States, in such measures of intervention as might be necessary, in the matter of the Armenian troubles. This would be the announcement of a new policy. It would be a notice to the world that henceforth all English-speaking people might be expected to act together in great questions affecting their interests or in the suppression of savagery. . . . The alliance of England and the United States would be one of the strongest guarantees of the world's peace. To attack this alliance would mean to attack at once the strongest navy in the world and the country which could furnish unlimited men of the best fighting quality and with inexhaustible economic resources behind them. It would be folly for any Power short of united Europe to attack at once the whole English-speaking world—a folly which Europe would not be likely to commit. . . . This combination would undoubtedly be regarded by the rest of the world as an instrument of oppression. The justification of it is only that it would be a combination of those forces, economic, political, and ethical, which are historically foremost and which make most strongly for progress in civilization. This is an arrogant pretension; but history justifies it. By a firm union between all English-speaking peoples, their supremacy in

[1] Prof. Sidney Sherwood of Johns Hopkins, in the "Forum" for March, 1896, p. 95.

industrial methods, in free government, and in moral living would be made unassailable. To live with us the rest of the world would be forced to live like us. And that is a fair definition of progress."

It may seem almost superfluous to add my own poor utterance to the volume of sound that has gone forth from both sides of the Atlantic in favour of the establishment of a permanent court to settle such disputes as may arise between the two peoples. The advocates of the great principle of international arbitration, which has played no insignificant part in the relations of Great Britain and America during the past one hundred years, should take as their motto Shakespeare's lines,

> A peace is of the nature of a conquest;
> For then both parties nobly are subdued,
> And neither party loses.
> —"Henry IV," Part II, Act IV. sc. ii.

Arbitration is a principle that has already been approved and ratified by the legislatures of both countries, and it only remains to discover a reliable method of applying it permanently. No doubt arbitration has its limitations. But the adoption of the principle of arbitration will give the Anglo-Saxon race the opportunity of guiding the rest of the world into the ways of peace. It must be obvious to all that some such initiative is absolutely indispensable if the human race is ever to come within sight of the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World. What a glorious privilege to stand forth before the universe as sponsors for a system under which, no longer in a figure of speech, men's swords shall be turned into ploughshares, and which shall realize the happy consummation shadowed forth in Whittier's lines:—

> The poles unite, the zones agree,
> The tongues of striving cease;
> As on the sea of Galilee
> The Christ is whispering, Peace!
> —"The Tent on the Beach."

Gentlemen, that at least is not a task beyond the powers of our common civilization: it would seem to be the natural

outgrowth of the traditions of the Anglo-American people. If for the last hundred years our history has run in separate though parallel lines, it must none the less be remembered that it was a common history for some thirteen hundred years previously. The use of the same language will to all time make us

> One name, not twain for division;
> One thing, not twain, from the birth.
> —SWINBURNE to Walt Whitman.

Was Matthew Arnold wrong when he said of Milton, "He and his hearers on both sides of the Atlantic are English and will remain English—*Sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt*"? ("Essays in Criticism"). And consider in your own literature the eminently friendly tone of Emerson, Hawthorne, Holmes, and Richard G. White towards the old country. Think of Lowell, and the universal esteem which was entertained on the other side of the ocean for the kindly author of "Jonathon to John". The London "Times"—with which you possibly do not always find yourselves in agreement—never said a truer word than that his death was felt with a keener sense of personal loss by Englishmen than the death of any man of the time who was not a British subject. Are not our legal institutions, again, stamped with the impress of a common origin and animated by a common spirit? It is a curious coincidence that Sir Frederick Pollock, who has been preparing the Venezuelan case now in the hands of your Commission, should have dedicated his "Torts" to your Judge Holmes. We know, too, what valuable contributions have been made in America to the work of the school of historical jurists of whom with us the type is Sir Henry Maine. And our lawyers follow the decisions of your Supreme Court with an interest which they would not think of extending to the legal procedure of any foreign nation.

I shall not dwell on our common interests in the field of scientific progress, or in the sphere of moral, religious, and philanthropic effort and enterprise, though a detailed consideration of these subjects would be indispensable to any

attempt to enumerate with completeness the points in which the two nations stand forth to the world as members of one body. It was to me a gracious incident, in the field of academic effort, that the inauguration of my work in Montreal was witnessed by the head of your oldest and wealthiest and most influential foundation—President Eliot of Harvard. Voices have been raised of late in the endeavour to disparage and depreciate the sentiment of unity which is fostered by such *rapprochements* as these. But they will be of no avail to blunt or to obscure the deep-set feeling of unity that is still a motive-force with you as well as with ourselves. Your own poet has set forth in noble verse your just claim to share in the inheritance of our blood, our speech, and the long glories of our common ancestry.

> O Englishmen! in hope and creed,
> In blood and tongue our brothers!
> We too are heirs of Runnymede;
> And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed
> Are not alone our mother's.
>
> Thicker than water in one rill
> Through centuries of story
> Our Saxon blood has flowed, and still
> We share with you its good and ill,
> The shadow and the glory.
>
> Joint heirs and kinfolk, leagues of wave
> Nor length of years can part us;
> Your right is ours to shrine and grave,
> The common freehold of the brave,
> The gift of saints and martyrs.
>
> —WHITTIER to Englishmen.

We Britons are not an imaginative or a sentimental people. But the American cheer that burst from the "Trenton" when Her Majesty's ship "Calliope"—destined to be the sole survivor of some thirteen sail—was skilfully brought out of danger in the harbour of Samoa is with us a precious memory, that will long continue to outweigh many expressions of passing ill-will.[1]

[1] "Not often in naval history was there a moment of more sickening peril, and it was dignified by one of those incidents that reconcile the chronicler to

And you on your side may not have forgotten how our hearts throbbed in sympathy with yours as you watched over the dying bed of one of the noblest of your Presidents, foully done to death by the bullet of the assassin. Such incidents as these are evidences of a greater kinship of feeling and sentiment than it would be possible for either of us to entertain to the people of any other country.

"Blood *is* thicker than water." That trite but true saying has been much in my heart this day, as I made my way for the first time along your crowded streets and felt that after all I was not far from—home. A like utterance was heard once again in the hall of your Capitol at Washington when only the other day one of your Senators, who was not afraid to incur the reproach of a diluted patriotism, uttered the prayer: "Until a just quarrel divides us, which Heaven forbid, may these two great nations, of the same speech, lineage, and traditions, stand as brothers shoulder to shoulder in the interests of humanity by a union-compelling peace!"

And perhaps I can find no more significant or more appropriate conclusion for my remarks to-night than by setting side by side with that noble aspiration the language that was used about the same time in England by the leader of the British House of Commons, Mr. Arthur Balfour: "I feel that our pride in the race to which we belong is a pride which includes every English-speaking community in the world. We have a domestic patriotism as Scotchmen or as Englishmen or as Irishmen, or what you will. We have an Imperial patriotism as citizens of the British Empire. But surely, in addition to that, we have also an Anglo-Saxon

his otherwise abhorrent task. From the doomed flagship the Americans hailed the success of the English with a cheer. It was led by the old Admiral in person, rising over the storm with a holiday vigour, and was answered by the Calliopes with an emotion easily conceived." Rear-Admiral Kimberley afterwards wrote to Captain Kane: "You went out spendidly, and we all felt from our hearts for you, and our cheers came with sincerity and admiration for the able manner in which you handled your ship. We could not have been gladder if it had been one of our own ships, for in times like these I can say truly with old Admiral Josiah Latnall that 'Blood *is* thicker than water'."—Robert Louis Stevenson, "A Footnote to History," pp. 258-9.

patriotism which embraces within its ample folds the whole of that great race which has done so much in every branch of human effort, and above all in that branch of human effort which has produced free institutions and free communities. . . . It cannot but be that those whose national roots go down into the same past as our own, who share our language, our literature, our laws, our religion—everything that makes a nation great—and who share in substance our institutions —it cannot but be that the time will come when they will feel that they and we have a common duty to perform, a common office to fulfil among the nations of the world. The time will come, the time must come, when some statesman of authority, more fortunate even than President Monroe, will lay down the doctrine that between English-speaking peoples war is impossible, and then it will be seen that every man who by rash action or hasty word makes the preservation of peace difficult has committed a crime not only against his own country . . . but against civilization itself. May no English statesman and no English party ever have the responsibility of that crime heavy upon their souls!"

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.[1]

I WAS glad to be able to accept your kind invitation to come and help you to celebrate the King's Birthday in New York. And what more inspiring subject could have been assigned to me, especially before so friendly an audience, than the British Empire? To all who boast the British name, whether they be native-born or so-called "colonists," whether they reside in the imperial metropolis or at the outskirts of the Empire, or are even, like many of you, sojourners in another land—a land which is to all of you, I am sure, anything but a foreign land—to all British subjects, I say, the mere mention of my theme must come home with a thrill of patriotic exultation. For you know, each and all of you, that—let others say what they will—we Britons may look the whole world in the face with a well-grounded confidence that the strength and prosperity of our united Empire is to-day one of the best guarantees of the peace, progress, and civilization of mankind.

Look at the extent of that Empire. The energy and the enterprise of our people have carried to the four quarters of the globe, over seas which no longer disunite, British trade and commerce, British law and justice, British freedom, along with all that British freedom implies—I might have said also the British language, except for the fact that so long as the people of the United States are content to speak English, and to call it English, English will be good enough for me, Scotch though I am by birth! Some four hundred millions of human beings own the gracious sway of that

[1] An address delivered before the British Public Schools and Universities' Club, New York, 9 November, 1903.

sovereign who is himself among the world's great peace-lovers, and whose crown is the golden link that connects with the homeland the several free democratic republics of which our Empire is made up. Such a spectacle is unique in the world's history ; it would have been impossible for any other age, for any other people. But let us not exult in greatness only—in the mere physical extent of our territory, in the millions of our fellow-citizens, or even in the unparalleled amount of our national wealth. Our prosperity would be based on an altogether unstable foundation if it incited us to be sounding for ever the note of imperial pride and braggadocio. At the momentous epoch in which you and I are living to-day—more than ever in our previous history—there ought to be the consciousness in the heart of each individual that moral greatness is as important as material greatness, and that the best security for the permanence of our rule is an increased sense of duty and responsibility on the part of every one of us.

And surely we can look back on our past at least with no sense of shame, however much the spirit of humility may be made to mingle with our pride of race and of achievement. Our Empire has never been an Empire of war and conquest only. I think it was Lord Rosebery who said of it in a recent speech : " It has often used the sword, it could not exist without the sword, but it does not live by the sword ". We never adopted the maxim of Roman imperialism which taught that Empire must be retained and fostered by the same forceful methods as those by which it was acquired. Perhaps some of you may never have sufficiently reflected on the strange circumstances under which our Empire has been built up—has grown, as it were, almost in spite of ourselves, till the sceptred isle, that " precious stone set in the silver sea," spreading itself over both hemispheres, has become the parent of new nations. Not from any settled national design or deliberate public policy, but primarily to find an outlet for the natural overflow of an energetic population—which took with it home ideals as well as the restless spirit of commercial enterprise—we may be said to have

stumbled, as a people, on the best parts of the unoccupied world, and almost to have "blundered" into our imperial inheritance. You know how it was, for example, with Australia. You have heard the story of the British officer who reported to the Home Government, some time at the beginning of the last century, that the Australian continent seemed a veritable desert, which soil and climate rendered uninhabitable, and from which they ought to withdraw in good time, lest a worse thing come unto them! And yet one Sunday afternoon last year, in connexion with the celebration of the King's Coronation, I worshipped at St. Paul's Cathedral along with the representatives of the 8000 Australian volunteers who had come victoriously through the South African war!

No! in the early days, our successes along the line of colonization were achieved more by the individual effort and courage of our citizens than by our Government. So far as we had a colonial policy at all, it was, on the whole, a bad one; certainly it cost us the thirteen States of the American Union. But after all we were no worse than other nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and we were wise enough to profit by the lessons we had learned. That is probably the reason why—whereas there used to be a Greater Spain, a Greater France, a Greater Portugal, and a Greater Holland, as well as a Greater Britain —the Greater Britain alone remains.

The failure of the old colonial policy was succeeded by a period during which the people in the home country almost deserved to lose their colonies, because they did not appreciate them. But there is no room in the Empire for such apathy to-day. We do not hear so much now about "cutting the painter". If down here in New York you sometimes read about such suggestions being made in Canada—if you hear nonsense about the hauling down of the British flag, or about the celebration of great banquets at which every emblem of the British connexion has been carefully removed, I pray you do not believe a word of it. These are stories manufactured for consumption on certain premises. I do

not wish to ignore the little matter to which Sir Percy Sanderson has alluded, and as to which he has asked for the expression of a Canadian opinion. No sensible Canadian (and there are very few others!) needs to be told that he ought to have implicit confidence in the Lord Chief Justice of England. It did not take us long to realize the fact that the constitution of the Alaska Tribunal was such that the case was practically a hearing before one judge—Lord Alverstone. His verdict has gone against Canada, but no one whose opinion is worth considering would harbour any other view than that Lord Alverstone did all his work and rendered his judgment in the true spirit of an impartial jurist, and with the most perfect fairness. The only difficulty remaining in the situation is that the not unnatural feeling of disappointment is aggravated at the moment by two considerations: first, that Canada's protest against the constitution of the tribunal (which contained three Commissioners who had already committed themselves on the subject on which they undertook to adjudicate) seems to have been over-ruled by the British Government; and, secondly, that the two Canadian representatives have put it on record that, in their opinion, Lord Alverstone had changed his mind in regard to the two most northerly islands in the Portland Channel, and, after first agreeing with them, had—without notifying them of his intention—finished by awarding these islands to the United States by way of compromise. It seems to me at least that the suggestion that Lord Alverstone did not take his Canadian colleagues sufficiently into his confidence is a personal matter between him and them. It is, in fact, extra-judicial. Meanwhile the Alaska difficulty no longer exists, and if, as regards the main issue, our case was really a weak one, we ought to be as glad as the people of the United States that a settlement has been arrived at.

Even in the face of such difficulties and such misunderstandings, no one living in any of our colonies can fail to realize that the march of recent events has drawn us more closely together than at any previous time. In spite of, or

even because of, present-day problems, the national instinct for unity will satisfy itself in the end. And why not? Is there anything wrong, is there anything that will militate against the world's best interests, is there anything that can be rightly construed as an offence to other nations in such an ideal as that to which I always like to refer—in compliment to the Great Republic—as the United States of the British Empire? We are a great governing race, and we have given hostages all the world over for the justice and equity of our rule. We have shown that the general scheme of our imperial administration is compatible with the fullest measure of self-government for individual communities. Liberty has never been endangered under our rule. Even in the latest crisis of our history we gave pledges which we are redeeming now, and those who were our enemies will themselves admit that it is not the ascendancy of one race over another—in South Africa any more than in Canada—that is dear to the British heart, but rather liberty and equal rule for all under the security of the British flag.

Gentlemen, it is not too much to say that in these latter days the British Empire has been born again. The great war in which we were recently engaged called forth all our energies, and discovered a cheerful readiness for loyal service and a devoted zeal which could not have been so well tested in any other way. It had been prophesied that an Empire so loosely joined together as ours was would be brought toppling down about our ears like a house of cards by the first great war in which we might happen to become involved. But what has been the result? The huge ungainly-looking structure, which on the map seemed incapable of any patriotic combination, is now more compact and more powerful than ever, because we have shown the world that for purposes of defence and for just warfare we are one nation still.

The outward and visible sign of this closer union has been seen in those great Imperial pageants, which, both under the late reign and in connexion with the King's coronation, drew all eyes to the capital of the Empire. It was

my privilege to witness some of these great celebrations, and perhaps the "pride of empire" could not be more legitimately felt than by a humble citizen who belongs to a family of which one brother served his country in India, another in Australia, another in New Zealand, another in Canada, while yet another was left behind in Scotland to attend to the interests of the Old World! At all events, when the Imperial reserves from the "Britains beyond the seas" paraded before the Royal standard, my heart was full of the noble lines in which Kipling fancies he hears the old "grey mother" greeting the children who have rushed to her support.[1]

And how fitly has the same poet expressed the feelings with which sober-minded Englishmen turned away at the close of such a spectacle as that which we witnessed, for instance, last summer when the King reviewed the fleet at Spithead. Shall I quote—especially as the refrain has been so often misunderstood and misapplied—one verse, to remind you that it is righteousness after all that exalteth a nation?

> The tumult and the shouting dies,
> The captains and the kings depart,
> Still stands thine ancient sacrifice
> A humble and a contrite heart:
> Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
> Lest we forget! Lest we forget!

Or let your thoughts rest once again for one brief moment on the union of hearts, which never beat in more sympathetic accord than on the day of the Queen's funeral. That was a day of which it might be said that the sun "did not set upon an Empire's grief: when the mournful roll of muffled drums, following the orb of day and keeping company with the hours, circled the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of grief". Truly, sorrow unites as well as joy, and on that day the Empire stood forth as one household, mourning the loss of its head!

There remains the practical question—the question of

[1] Quoted on p. 58.

the day, of the hour! Is the union of hearts sufficient for the purposes of Britain's world-mission? Or are any more binding ties necessary to secure the stability and permanence of our Empire?

Here it seems a duty to avoid rhetoric on either side of the question. I may be allowed, however, to state my own conviction that few persons would be found content to rest in the position that all is for the best as it is, and that absolutely no change is needed. The problem rather is, what amount of change would be possible and judicious. The student of history knows that the main factor in the downfall of ancient Rome was her failure to adapt the constitution of what was originally a city-state to the changed conditions of a world-wide empire. The principle of representation had not been discovered in those early days, and even if it had been discovered, it could not have been worked without great difficulty. How stands it to-day with our imperial inheritance? The population of Canada is already greater than that of Scotland, and it needs little power of political foresight to see that Canada has in prospect just such a period of prosperity as this Great Republic had before it, say, forty or fifty years ago. Australia about equals the population of Ireland, and the white population of South Africa falls little short of that of Wales. What would any of these be without the others, as regards either their separate prosperity or the weight that any one of them could bring to bear in the councils of the Empire? Fortunate it is for us that the devoted affection of her daughter-states is the crown and glory of the old age of the motherland. They know that they are regarded no longer as "colonies"—though the word survives—no longer as mere over-sea possessions. We speak of them now as the "new nations within the Empire". I am proud to remember that this phrase was originally coined in a letter addressed to me by Mr. Rudyard Kipling, conveying his acceptance of the honorary degree of McGill University. As regards the essence of the thing, apart from the phrase, another poet had been before him. Poets are often more far-sighted than practical men. If you will look

at Lord Tennyson's life, you will see that it is full of prophetic anticipations of the time when England herself would come to recognize that her future is inseparably bound up with the strength and prosperity of her colonies. And we can say now, can we not, that our colonies feel, one and all, that their best and truest line of national development is to remain for ever integral portions of the British Empire?

To me at least it seems that our late successes are but a summons to more work in the interests of our Empire. We have the opportunity now of adding a fresh chapter to our imperial annals, of inaugurating a new era in our imperial history. Of course we must hasten slowly. But we have had a long enough period of waiting, and a sufficiency of moves and counter-moves. I myself have heard a leading statesman emphasize the point that the first approach must come from the colonies; and then the Prime Minister of a great colony—in whose hearing this point was emphasized—says, on leaving for the Colonial Conference, that he is confident that this same statesman would not have summoned such a conference in London if he had not something definite to put before it! And it was in connexion with this same conference that the Ministers of one of the leading colonies sent word to London that they would not be prepared to discuss imperial defence, for the reason that no one scheme of defence could be devised that would suit the circumstances of each and all of our over-sea possessions! These were lame utterances—the latter certainly wanting in logic!

Surely at the least we might manage to institute an Imperial Council authorized to represent and to promote in every possible and legitimate way the interests of every part of the Empire. Why should Mr. Chamberlain be able to tell us, for instance, as he did at Liverpool the other night, that the real reason why British trade is being displaced by German trade at Zanzibar is because the Germans are running a better service of steamers? True, their steamers are more largely subsidized than ours; but it might turn out to be the first duty of such a council as I am suggesting to offend—for a time—against every law of political economy in recommend-

ing and securing such a subsidy as would prevent this injurious displacement of former conditions. When they have captured the whole trade, the Germans will no doubt reduce their subsidy, and meanwhile we ought to fight them with their own weapons. They have profited largely by our apathy and carelessness in the past. It sounds almost incredible now that the Home Government bound itself by treaty some forty years ago to give Germany equal rights with itself in the Canadian market. That short-sighted arrangement lay at the root of the recent difficulty with Germany. It showed a deplorable lack of imagination on the part of British statesmen. They failed to forecast the growth of their colonial markets, and they were equally blind to the possibility that Germany might see fit to develop—just as the United States had already begun to do—an industrial policy very different from their own!

Such an illustration will suffice to remind you that it is impossible to go very far in the discussion of imperial questions at the present time without running up against the fiscal problem. Patriotism and commerce seem destined to march hand in hand with equal steps. It is certainly a very difficult matter, and I doubt if there ever was in England so great a conflict of opinion on any subject as there is to-day on this. On all sides we hear the statement made that we "stand at the parting of the ways". One class of thinkers holds that the only way effectually to preserve the Empire is to institute preferential trading; another is equally emphatic in the opinion that this course will shatter the imperial fabric, and bring about an inevitable dismemberment and disintegration. Without going so far as to say that the Empire will fall to pieces immediately unless his policy is adopted, Mr. Chamberlain urges it as in the best interests alike of the colonies and the mother country; to which his adversaries rejoin that colonial loyalty is not to be purchased at two shillings per quarter. The sensational picture given in an illustrated weekly paper of a fight between disputants in a railway carriage is typical, not only of the division of opinion which prevails at home, but also of the industrial conflict which the

great nations of the world now wage against each other. Each of them wants to produce as much as it can for itself, and refuses to be tied down to the special lines which it found at first lying ready to its hand. It did not take the United States long to realize that its true interests were not to be sought for in the activities which had been marked out for it by the economists of former days. The great Republic had a wider destiny before it than merely to dig and delve in order to ship its raw products to what was, fifty years ago, the workshop of the world. And so the ideal begins to float before our minds to-day of a self-sustaining and self-contained empire. When Mr. Morley and Mr. Courtney tell us that, even if it could be realized, this would remain a "barbarous" ideal, and one not in the best interests of civilization, it seems to me at least that possibly they may be taking too little into account the driving force of nationality in the commerce of the modern world. Why should it be right and proper, for instance, on the part of the United States to institute a reciprocity system with Cuba, under which British trade and British shipping will be practically displaced, and wrong for Great Britain even to consider such a thing in regard to Canada? No; there seems to be no good reason why we should not seek to place ourselves in a position in which we shall be at least on even terms with other nations. If we are told that retaliation is an ugly word, may we not with truth reply that other nations have retaliated on us in advance? I do not think we need to shudder before the suggestion lately made by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, that under a system of preferential trading Boston wreckers might again find something to do in the way of throwing British cargo into the sea. What surprised me more was that the same authority, who looked forward gleefully some years ago to the prospect that the late President McKinley would be led to "take the necessary steps" to bring Canada to a proper state of mind, should resent the idea that others might want to play a similar hand in the same game. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer's somewhat craven fear that America might retaliate on Canada may have proceeded partly from Mr.

Carnegie's threat that the bonding privileges would be withdrawn. If it be the case that these bonding privileges are equally valuable to the United States, we should expect to hear from Chicago and other American centres which at present make a somewhat extensive use of Canadian territory. And if Chicago raised no protest, we could still fall back, even with a longer haulage of our goods, on Halifax and St. John, ports which are as open as Portland and New York the whole year round.

It is not for me, however, or such as I am, to endeavour further to probe these commercial mysteries, especially on an occasion like this. But I do not see why the fact that no foreign nation would rejoice in Mr. Chamberlain's success should be counted against Mr. Chamberlain. Even if nothing were to come of his present efforts, it may turn out to be on the side of gain that notice has been given to foreign nations that they must no longer take it as axiomatic that Great Britain will never do anything to protect her interests in the way in which they so well know how to protect their interests. Even a worm will turn. I have no wish to dogmatize on what is really a very difficult subject, but I hope I have said enough to show that we ought not to agree with those who hold that all is for the best as it is, and that nothing should be done. It is very stimulating to hear statesmen speak of forwarding the federation of the Empire by education, by the diffusion of intelligence, by cultivating the spirit of union, by concentrating attention and effort on the realization of high imperial ideals of citizenship. But that may turn out—as things stand to-day among the nations of the world—not to be enough. It may be that the time has come to make at least a partial revisal of the terms of partnership between the members of the firm of John Bull and Sons. The Britains beyond the seas want to get a larger interest in the business, and if they are to continue as branch establishments they ought to be put in a position in which they can take part in the annual stocktaking and calculation of profits. That, however, is too commercial an analogy for a peroration. The colonies are, indeed, partners in a great

imperial concern. But let me claim for them again that they are also a fellowship of free peoples, joint heirs with England in the glorious traditions of England's imperial history, and that, equally with the motherland, they will shrink from no sacrifice that may enable them to aid in the task of handing down to their children's children, unimpaired and even enhanced in value, the great inheritance they have received from their forefathers, and of helping to forward and fulfil Britain's mighty mission of peace and goodwill, freedom and justice, in the world. Not without good reason did our youngest poet, William Watson, in apostrophizing the colonies, exclaim of the British Empire, in words with which I may be well content to close,—

> Young is she yet, her world-task just begun,
> By you we know her safe, and know by you
> Her veins are million, but *her heart is one!*

CANADA AND HER FUTURE.[1]

THOUGH the record of the "Deeds that won the Empire" may now be considered closed, Britain has still a great work in front of her, the work of imperial organization, consolidation, and if possible, federation. To ridicule this aspiration, and to pronounce it unrealizable, on the ground that the achievement would be without historic parallel, is a cheap and easy form of selfishness. It betrays the limitation of outlook, the want of imagination, which is one of the main defects, for all its sturdiness, of the Anglo-Saxon character. No doubt there are difficulties to be surmounted, and adverse conditions to be overcome. It may be true that the Empire, as we know it to-day, is "anomalous" and "amorphous". But there are many of us—not unfamiliar with the records of the past, or the circumstances of the present time—who feel confident that, if it were possible to forecast the judgment of history, it would be found to be against a policy of "drift". To those who read the future, or at least think they can read it, the recommendation to "let well alone" seems greatly out of place at present in reference to imperial affairs.

In the mission of further consolidation we start with one great point in our favour. It is by no means to its disadvantage or discredit that the British Empire is not altogether as other Empires have been. It was by the sword that old Rome, for instance, held what by the sword she had won. To her modern successor and representative has been left the glory of reconciling the two elements, which many of Rome's subjects found incompatible, "Empire" and "Liberty". A constitution which secures equal rights for

[1] Republished, by permission, as originally written for "The Empire and the Century," John Murray, 1905, pp. 363 *sqq.*

all under the ample folds of the British Flag has given a new meaning to the old motto "Imperium et Libertas". Never before in history has the unique spectacle been presented to the world of sovereignty wielded by the parent state on the slender basis of mutual consent. The philosophic spectator of all time and all existence may wonder, perchance, what changes the future has in store for the teeming millions of British India, which is still a dependency in the true sense of the word. Such speculation is equally applicable, on a lower political level, to the native races of South Africa, and even to the negro population of the United States. But if Britain's imperial temper remains as it has been—and there is little danger of any change—the element of the consent of the governed will never be lost sight of. India is in a state of tutelage, and for the rest, the Empire may be aptly described as a system of democratic republics under the gentle sovereignty of the motherland. By the admission even of those who love it least, it has stood in the main for justice and liberty, for honest and efficient administration, for the expansion of freedom of trade, and for a strict and scrupulous impartiality between races and religions. If these had not been its strongest pillars, the loosely compacted structure which we know to-day would hardly have stood the test of time.

How Canada was Obtained.

As to Canada, whatever her ultimate destiny may be, the Dominion will never have cause to regret that she grew up with the Empire. The story of that growth cannot be told, even in outline, without reference to the history of the two nations whose friendship is to-day one of our greatest imperial assets, France and the United States. It was the successful termination of the long wars against Napoleon that secured to England her remaining possessions in North America, in spite of the somewhat unfriendly inroad of 1812, made in the name of freedom by the youthful Republic to the South; and the subsequent development of the Dominion is bound up

with two factors which past history has rendered essential and indispensable, viz.: (1) harmonious co-operation between the two races which the conquest of Canada left in possession of the soil, and (2) ungrudging recognition on the part of the United States of the fact that there is ample room on the North American continent for the evolution of a political ideal, a type of citizenship, and a pattern of civilization somewhat different from its own.

Space cannot be found here for more than the barest reference to the story of the conquest of Canada, though it is one which is highly gratifying to British pride. It cannot be said of our North American possessions that there, at least, we "blundered" into Empire. We knew what we were struggling for, and it cost us a good deal of fighting to get what we wanted. Let it be remembered, too, that the greatest gainers by the downfall of New France were our own colonies in New England. The deliberate attempt to keep these colonies cooped up along a comparatively narrow seaboard was foiled by Wolfe's capture of Quebec. That heroic achievement—which was only part of a wider struggle in two hemispheres at once—decided the future of the whole continent of North America. It may be said also to have led up to the American War of Independence. For if success had not crowned the British arms in the previous struggle, the thirteen colonies would have had their hands full in keeping the French at bay, and would have had still to rely on British support. Destiny had decreed, however, that New France should survive on the American continent enshrined mainly in the institutions and traditions of the Canadian Province of Quebec. Every one is aware how different has been the fate of the region which is known as the State of Louisiana in the American Union.

One of the most untoward results, for England, of the American Revolution was the dualism which it set up, and which continues even to this day, between the new Republic and the British possessions on its northern border. At the time of the conquest, Canada, and what was then known as Acadia, contained only a handful of about 60,000 settlers;

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and it is the best possible evidence of the essential equity of the new British administration that these French Canadians resisted every temptation to join hands with the revolting colonies. As a consequence, Canada came to be something of a thorn in the side of George Washington. Indeed he prophesied that the country to the North would be a source of trouble to the Union, and might bring it even to the verge of war. Washington's inability to appreciate the point of view of the United Empire Loyalists is, perhaps, the only regrettable feature in the career of one whom many Britons—those, at least, who have a wide outlook on history—would be glad to claim as one of their national heroes. The persecutions which the United Empire Loyalists had to undergo at the hands of their insurgent fellow-citizens, should not be overlooked in the story of the early days of what is now the Canadian Dominion. For conscience' sake they forsook all and fled, making their way, mainly, into what we now know as Ontario, as well as into Acadia, and the Maritime Provinces. Those Ontario settlers had the opportunity, however, of adding a glorious page to their country's annals, by the resistance they offered to the American invasion of 1812-15. They were no more numerous then than the French Canadians had been at the time of the Conquest, and yet they succeeded in showing that the war party in the United States, with its raucous cry of "On to Canada," had made as great a miscalculation of actual conditions as Carthage, when she fancied that the invading Hannibal would be able to draw away the Italian tribes from their allegiance to Rome. The story of this short war is full of the record of the prowess of Canadians—English, French, Scotch, Irish, and Indian. And as their successes secured the country from further organized attack, the significance of such engagements as those of Queenston Heights and Chrysler's Farm, and Lundy's Lane, and Chateauguay, should be correctly appreciated by all who wish to understand the story of our imperial development, or the strain of heroic character which is leavening the nationality of Canada.

The subsequent history of the country is mainly a record

of the steady growth of self-government, interrupted by periods of political strife and even rebellion, which only resulted in hastening that consolidation in which the country rejoices now, as the joint result of Canadian patience and the British instinct of political wisdom. It is no longer with isolated portions of an undefined territory, but with one of the most remarkable federations of modern times, stretching from ocean to ocean in the shape of the Canadian Dominion, that we have to do, when we ask the questions: (1) What is England doing for Canada? and (2) What is Canada doing for the Empire?

What England is Doing for Canada.

In answer to the first inquiry, the more obvious advantages of the imperial connexion ought not to be overlooked. There is, to begin with, the beneficial influence of the Crown, which has meant a good deal in the development of the constitution, both in itself, and also in the succession of able and distinguished Governors-General by whom it has been represented in Canada. Above everything else, however, Canadians value, or ought to value, the security conferred on their trade and commerce, and on their national interests generally, by Great Britain's command of the seas. On this subject something will be said later on: meanwhile, the authority may be quoted of a Canadian expert, Major William Wood of the 8th Royal Rifles, who lately penned the following sentence: "And so whenever Canadians look outward to those long, open sea-ways, where half their wealth and credit is continually afloat among the great mail-fisted nations of the world, they still may have the satisfaction of knowing that they remain secure under the guardian care of that 'British' Navy, to whose support they have, as yet, given no single item from all their national resources—not a ship, not a dollar, not a man". This quotation may serve to secure an indulgent hearing for a good deal that has to be entered on the other side of the account.

No Canadian, who is not wishful to claim absolute political equality with England, and to leave nothing to the

"predominant partner," will chafe under the restrictions implied in the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and the power to disallow bills which may interfere with imperial obligations. Even the privilege of appeal to the Privy Council will sit lightly on all, except those who wish, like a recent speaker in Toronto, to arrange that "our own men shall decide our own lawsuits, and command our own forces, and our own money shall provide for our own defences, and for such mutual aid as we ourselves may approve". For there are directions in which England could do more for Canada than she is doing at present, partly in regard to feeling and sentiment, partly in more concrete matters. To take the latter first. The recent exposure by Sir George Drummond of certain postal anomalies and their effects, is not considered in Canada to have been adequately met by Lord Stanley's reply that it would cost too much to remedy them. For example, the postage rate on newspapers, magazines, etc., from Canada to England is only half a cent per pound, whereas that from England to Canada is no less than eight cents per pound, and the rate to Canada from the United States is one cent per pound. In view of the flooding of the Canadian market by cheap American literature, or English periodicals dressed up with American advertisements, it was quite natural that the Canadian Senate should unanimously agree to "affirm the principle that the conveyance of letters, newspapers, books, periodicals, etc., should be at a lower scale of charges within the empire than at the time ruling with any foreign country"; and it may be hoped that when the British Post Office has had a little more time to work out the question of ways and means, something will be done to conciliate Canadian opinion in a matter which bears so powerfully on the spread of imperial feeling and sentiment.[1] Again more might probably have been done

[1] The fact ought not to be overlooked, though it seems so far to have escaped notice, that the Canadian Post Office has to carry its mail matter, on an average, some 2000 miles, as against at the highest figure an average of 200 miles in England. Receiving nothing for the delivery of the mails from outside, it therefore performs a more onerous service on every pound of mail matter.

also by the home authorities in times past to direct the stream of emigration from the old country to Canada's shores. The consideration that British emigrants to Canada, besides receiving substantial land grants, do not need to make any change of allegiance hardly seems to have been allowed its full force hitherto. But organized effort is now accomplishing greater results, and the immediate future will show the extent to which the old country, as well as Canada, may benefit by the increased prosperity of settlers who do not go outside the limits of the Empire. Again, when Canadians note the violation of the rigid rules of orthodox economics involved in the subsidy recently voted to Atlantic liners sailing to United States ports, they are inclined to argue that not much harm would be done by a further extension of the system to steamship lines that are British owned, and that ply within the British Empire.[1] Even some economic excesses would be pardoned to the Home Government by way of atonement for the deplorable lack of imagination and foresight shown some forty years ago, as, for example, when British statesmen solemnly bound Great Britain to give Germany equal rights with herself in the Canadian market. That may be mentioned here because the denunciation of the German treaty stands to England's credit in her more recent dealings with her greatest and most prosperous colony. Again, it might have been expected, in view of the close relations between the two countries, that British capital would by this time have got over its shyness of sound Canadian investments. Money is needed for the expansion of industry—for the development of agriculture and forest lands, of copper, coal, nickel and other mines, of fisheries, etc.; and it is matter of regret that, when British capital could be judiciously expended, Americans should be getting so firm a hold on the best investments that offer. Nothing need be said here about the possibility that the "old

[1] Generous mail subsidies, such as the Annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of Navigation show to be quite common in the other countries, would enable Canada to put on a Transatlantic service equal or superior to that of the United States, and thus secure to her the advantage of her geographical position.

country" may be led in some way to reciprocate the Canadian preference. That would lead us into the heart of the fiscal problem, which would demand a separate paper. Besides, the almost unanimous attitude of Canadians is that this is a question which must be left to Great Britain itself. They are glad that it is leading their kinsfolk at home to take a larger interest in the questions of the Empire and the elements of imperial well-being and progress.

What is sometimes referred to in Canada as British inertia in the field of action is, however, of little account, after all, alongside of the increased feeling of kindliness and brotherhood which is the fruit of closer relations and better knowledge. Canada is much more to England now-a-days than a "few acres of snow"—a land with an arctic temperature sheeted in perpetual ice! Improved communications and the spread of information are doing their work. Recognition should be made here of the efforts put forth at home by such organizations as the Victoria League, the League of the Empire, and others. Under such influences, the type of Briton will soon entirely disappear that goes on stolidly affixing a 2½d. stamp to his letters, with the direction "Canada, U.S.A." ! If this were autobiography, the writer could unfold some strange experiences. Crossing from New York, he has forgathered with eminent English financiers, having interests exclusively in the capital of the United States, who wanted to know what earthly use Canada was to England! He has conversed even with prominent statesmen who inquired somewhat anxiously whether the growth of Canadian prosperity really justified a second transcontinental railroad, and seemed to think that here again was a possible cause of offence to the United States. Two other stories may be included, this time from the fertile field of education. At the Imperial Inter-University Conference held in London two years ago, one of the Canadian delegates was privileged to speak in support of the main resolution, favouring the institution of an Imperial Council, the interchange of students in special subjects, etc. As to the students (especially the Rhodes Scholars), he committed himself to an expression

of the hope that most of them would find their way back to Canada, after getting all the good they could out of Oxford, or London, or Birmingham. At the close of the proceedings, he was accosted by an old friend whom he had known before he went to Canada, and who has done conspicuous work for one of the English University Colleges. "How completely you have caught the colonial point of view!" was the form of address. A definition was asked for, and the answer came at once: "Why, you want your men back again. Just look at us: England sends men all the world over, and doesn't care whether they come back or no!" The circumstances and needs of a new country seem to have weighed as nothing: but the maxim of "thinking imperially" had not then been invented! In an editorial on the same occasion a London daily, which once had a higher standing than it can perhaps boast to-day—with much praise for the general ideas underlying the Conference—came out with the following: "What possible community of sentiment can there be, for instance, between Oxford and Cambridge, with their centuries of accumulated prestige, and such an institution as the McGill University, Montreal?" The writer had forgotten Glasgow, from which McGill was founded, nearly a century ago—to say nothing of Birmingham! He would be surprised to know how many Oxford and Cambridge men are on the McGill staff, in Arts and Applied Science. And there was some hilarity up at the British Museum on the day after the Conference, when the article just cited was shown to the Principal of McGill, there busily at work on one of the new volumes of the Oxford Cicero! So true is it that, to get the imperial point of view, much depends on which end of the telescope one looks through!

What Canada is doing for the Empire.

As it is desirable to be quite definite under this head, a series of statements is here made, which it is hoped will find general acceptance. The important issue of a contribution to imperial defence will be dealt with in the concluding section.

1. It may be said, to begin with, that Canada serves the Empire by preserving and continuing the tradition of loyalty, and that her readiness to remain in partnership is an undoubted source of prestige as well as of military advantage. Especially in view of her now rapid growth in wealth, population, and national spirit, the Dominion may be said to be adding daily to the resources of the Empire.

2. As an excellent field for emigration, Canada furnishes Great Britain with an outlet for her surplus population. A grant of 160 acres of farm lands is made by the Canadian Government to *bona fide* settlers in the North-West. In this way the Dominion plays a special part in providing ground for the expansion of the Empire. For without any change of allegiance the British emigrant finds in his new home opportunities of improving his condition which he could never have enjoyed in the land of his birth. The race is renewed by contact with the soil of a new country, and the old land profits by the increased prosperity of its imperial off-shoots.

3. Canada furnishes a field for the investment of British capital still under the flag.

4. In the Militia of the Dominion, Canada maintains a force of approximately 40,000 volunteers, of whom about 1,500 are enrolled in permanent corps for instructional purposes. This small permanent force, which is practically composed of regulars, will be increased to 4,000 by the change to be mentioned in the next section. It should also be stated that, through the Commissions given every year to the most successful cadets of the Royal Military College at Kingston, Canada has contributed something also to the personnel of the British Army. This privilege will, it is understood, be extended in the near future to the Canadian Universities as well.

5. The Dominion Government has arranged to maintain Halifax and Esquimault henceforward at their present standard of equipment for the use of British ships of war. The equipment includes unlimited steaming coal, and it is understood that the resultant expenditure will be some $2,000,000 in the coming fiscal year.

6. Apart from such undertakings and obligations, the Canadian people showed by their spontaneous action during the South African War, with all the possibilities for the future which it implied, that they might be counted on in an emergency.

7. At a cost of heavy subsidies, Canada has provided, in the Canadian Pacific Railway, a transcontinental road that will be available, when necessary, for the transport of British troops and munitions to the East. Moreover in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific she will have completed before very long a parallel road sufficiently remote from the American frontier to render relatively small the risk of its being cut. And as these roads may become specially valuable in time of war, so also in time of peace they will be increasingly used by travellers from the outskirts of the Empire, who will gladly avail themselves of improved means of intercommunication to travel by an "all-British route".

8. In providing five-eighteenths of the cost of the Trans-Pacific Cable, a line constructed primarily in the strategic and commercial interests of Great Britain, Canada paid even more than her share. Australia pays eight-eighteenths.

9. Canada has shown her willingness to strengthen trade relations by granting a rebate of one-third of the customs duties not only to Great Britain and Ireland, but also to New Zealand, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and the West Indies. Under this preference, British imports into Canada have greatly increased of recent years, though it must be remembered that other nations have by no means stood still. Perhaps the best way of realizing the extent of the boon would be to inquire where—in the face of their competition—British trade would have been *without* the preference. It may be stated here that Canadian opinion seems to be almost solid in favour of the expediency of a preferential tariff.

10. Last comes the question of a contribution to imperial revenues, in return for the services rendered to Canada by the Army, the Navy, the Consular Service, and the Diplomatic Corps. This is not so easy a matter as might appear

on the surface. It is generally discussed in connexion with the Navy only, and here it will be as well to begin with the facts.

The following figures are taken from the Canadian "Almanac" for 1905 (pp. 133-4) :—

Contributions to Naval Defence.

India	£103,400
Australia	200,000
New Zealand	40,000
Cape Colony	50,000
Natal	35,000
Newfoundland	3,000
Canada	Nothing
Total Colonial Contribution	431,400
Total Naval Estimates (1904-5)	38,300,000.

These are the facts. What is the explanation? We may begin by setting aside certain suggested explanations, which mean nothing. The Canadian Government itself did not reap great glory when it sent word to London, before the last Colonial Conference, that its delegates would not be prepared to discuss imperial defence, *because* no one scheme of defence could be devised that would suit the different conditions of the outlying parts of the Empire. Nor will it do to say that the British Navy is there anyway, and that the expenditure on it would not be decreased even if Canada did not exist. Self-respecting Canadians like to pay their way in the world. They have just heard of an incident in which a Halifax sealer figures at Montevideo, and which may require the help not only of the British diplomatic corps but possibly also of a man-of-war. And not long ago, in one and the same issue of their morning papers, they read an account of a speech in which an Irish member took it upon him to declare in the House of Commons that Canada would never contribute to the Navy, while in another column they read that the British Government had despatched a man-of-war to rescue certain Canadian missionaries from a place of danger on the Chinese coast. Moreover, Canada has been making strides in shipping, and is quite in a position to appreciate the fact that the

Navy is a national insurance, essential to the safety and welfare of the whole Empire.[1]

In seeking to discover the real explanation of a phenomenon which certainly attracts attention and excites surprise in England, especially in view of Canada's loud protestations of affectionate loyalty, the following points seem worthy of some consideration:—

(*a*) Notwithstanding the flourishing condition of the country, it contains as yet comparatively little realized wealth. It is potentially rich, but borrowed capital figures largely in the existing business situation. Moreover it has been accustomed to high taxation, which in new communities tends to check initiative and to retard industrial exploitation.

(*b*) Nor is it unfair to remind Canada's critics that the Dominion has been doing a great deal for the Empire in helping to build transcontinental railways and to develop a good canal system. Considering that his ancestors started in the wilderness without capital only about a hundred years ago (with the exception of the Laurentian valley and one or two smaller districts) the average Canadian thinks that they and he have done a good deal to improve an important part of the British possessions.[2]

[1] A recent calculation shows that our Naval expenditure involves an outlay of £3 2s. for every ton of mercantile marine. We are spending (1905) less for the safeguarding of our mercantile shipping than any other nation except Japan—the figures being: Japan, £2 4s. 4d.; British Empire, £3 2s.; Germany, £4 18s.; Russia, £18 3s. 10d.; United States, £19 10s. 2d. Again, we may reject as meaningless and insincere the statement that anything Canada could contribute would appear so infinitesimal alongside of the expenditure of the motherland that it would be hardly worth while to offer it.

[2] This view derives some support from a passage in Burke's speech on Conciliation with the Colonies. "But to clear up my ideas on this subject—a revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—No, not a shilling. We have experience that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition, what can you expect from North America? For certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution fit for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects, on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time a surplus by a foreign sale of her

(*c*) Moreover, it was for long a ruling maxim in the diplomacy of the neighbouring Republic that the American continent should keep clear of European complications, and the considerations which prompted this policy have always had great weight also throughout the Dominion. While the general march of events, as well as the contraction of the globe through rapid transit, militates strongly against this view, it is one which many cannot give up without regret.

(*d*) Then there is the attitude of a large section of the French Canadians, whose services to the Empire entitle them to the greatest possible consideration. Their loyalty to British rule is cordially acknowledged; it is in fact assured by the solid advantages which they enjoy under the constitution. But it is a loyalty to the *status quo*—a passive rather than an active loyalty. It cannot be wondered at that their training and sympathies have not led them, so far, to feel any great enthusiasm for British political ideals in the wider sense. Regarding themselves as a peculiar people, cut off from France by the religious legislation of the Third Republic, and detached to a considerable extent from the English population of Canada, they cherish local rather than imperial ideals, and cultivate a national rather than an imperial patriotism. For this reason, it cannot be said that French Canadians as a unit would be likely to favour any movement in this direction at present.

(*e*) Apart from this factor, however, there is a residuum of difficulty which must be attributed to the Canadian feeling of nationhood—the desire to be something more than a "colony," a mere appanage of the imperial system. Lord Dufferin (than whom no Governor-General ever did more for the British connexion) became aware of this feeling as soon as he came to Canada, and discussed the subject in a most

commodities to pay the duties on these objects which you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue. But with regard to her own internal establishments she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation. I say in moderation; for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war, the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you and serve you essentially."

interesting letter to Lord Carnarvon (*v.* Sir Alfred Lyall's "Life," Vol. I, pp. 229-31). The sentiment has no necessary connexion with any vague or premature aspirations for "Independence". It rather amounts to a tacit protest against any action that might tend to stereotype the present status of the Dominion as a protected dependency. From this point of view any taxation for imperial purposes, however small, could hardly fail to raise the difficult questions of representation and the claim to have a fair share in the determination of imperial policy. Its advocates would probably argue that it would be better to remain, as it were, in tutelage for a while longer, until the colonial phase of her history could be quite outgrown, and Canada as a nation could assume a fuller partnership than is possible at present in the duties and responsibilities of Empire as well as in its profits and advantages.

Meanwhile in spite of the fact that Canada has not yet come up to the level of imperial expectations in this regard, the essential thing is that there never was a time at which the spirit of loyal attachment was deeper or more widely spread. It has shown itself in various ways, and it may be depended on to make itself felt in working out an eventual solution of the problem under consideration.

What Canada is to the Empire.

Thirty years ago, Lord Dufferin—speaking perhaps to some extent by way of anticipation—said: "There is not a man in England who does not understand, and to whose imagination it has not been forcibly brought home, that beyond the circuit of the narrow seas which confine this island are vast territories, inhabited by powerful communities, who are actuated by ideas similar to our own, who are proud to own allegiance to the British Crown, whose material resources are greater than those possessed by his own country, and whose ultimate power may perhaps exceed the power of Great Britain". That is certainly how all Englishmen ought to feel towards their nearest, greatest, most powerful,

and most prosperous possession. And if such language was no more than the facts warranted some thirty years ago, how much more appropriate and forcible must it be held to-day!

It is a charge against transatlantic habits of thought that too much is apt to be made of mere size. But it will nevertheless bear to be stated that the area of the Dominion is thirty-one times that of the United Kingdom, and twice that of Russia in Europe. It embraces 40 per cent of the entire area of the British Empire.

Throughout this vast territory the outlook is such as to justify the oft-repeated boast that the twentieth century is to be with Canada. Last century was with the United States. And where the United States stood, say, forty years ago, there stands Canada to-day. Indeed, having regard to her splendid resources, to her growing population, to the facilities of transportation by land and sea, and to the increasing pressure on the means of subsistence in European countries, one is justified in considering it possible that within the next half century Canada may even outrival the experience of the United States in the rapidity of her general development. Any reluctance to realize and acknowledge the extent of the present growth of the Dominion—such as is occasionally met with south of the "line"—must be set down at once as evidence of a wish that she should not falsify prophecy and disturb settled convictions by attaining to such development under her existing political conditions. In the statement that Canada "would never amount to anything" the wish has been, as a rule, father to the thought.

No country in the world has shown such increases in its trade and commerce during the past five years, in proportion to the population. Within that period the figures for both exports and imports have nearly doubled.

Of Canadian produce, Great Britain takes about 60 per cent, against 31 per cent to the United States. Forty years ago the figures were the other way. The amount of good that can be done by a careful fostering of industries—and here the Canadian Department of Agriculture deserves the

greatest possible credit—may best be shown by reference to the exports of cheese and bacon, which Canada exported last year to the old country to the amount of 25 millions of dollars for cheese and 15 millions for bacon.

But it is of course as the future granary of the Empire that Canada bulks most largely, on the material side, with the people of Great Britain. She has still some 250 million acres of the best agricultural land in the world to be taken up. There is a general consensus of opinion that it would be difficult to exaggerate the future of the Canadian North-west. A recent writer (Mr. A. G. Bradley) speaks of this great region as "the home of the necessities, not the luxuries, of man, where beef, mutton, and pork, wheat, oats, and the main vegetables can all be produced of the highest quality and in the greatest abundance; where the northern races, nay, even Italians and Galicians for that matter, can thrive and flourish in an atmosphere conducive to their native vigour and even stimulating to it. . . . There are very few sections of the United States that ever had such a prospect. . . . The northern limit of the farming belt, and of comfortable human settlement has been indefinitely extended by a better knowledge of the country. Edmonton, hitherto a sort of northern *Ultima Thule*, will become a distributing point for vast regions far to the North and North-west, even to the fertile levels of the Peace River, where wheat is now known to grow as surely and as strongly as in Manitoba itself. Abundant water power, ample timber, an almost universally flat, fertile, and extremely smooth-lying soil over a region half as big as Europe confronts us here."

The potentialities of the region here referred to will inevitably remind the reader of Canada's interest in the fiscal problem. Whatever may be the issue of the controversy now current, it cannot be doubted that no question could be raised that is better fitted to give the masses of the people an effective training in economic and political problems. It is in fact a national and imperial issue which ought to be kept outside the range of party politics. Possibly it is not a Christian—for the matter of that, hardly

even a Stoic—ideal that nation should be set against nation in the effort to make itself self-supporting. But the driving force of nationality counts for much in the commerce of the modern world, and if Great Britain should be led to depart from the orthodox principles of Free Trade, she will be able to console herself with the reflection that she was not the first. In Canada the prevailing opinion seems to be that there is really no inconsistency—in view of changed conditions—in holding that, while free imports was the true policy for England fifty years ago, something different may be called for to-day. The British working-man, on the other hand, both in town and country is obviously afraid of the dear loaf and of rising prices, which will tend to enrich the landlord and the manufacturer. And it is not easy to see how a country like Canada can reciprocate further than she has already done, in advance. The desire of Canadians to manufacture for themselves, and to enjoy complete autonomy in industry and commerce, is undoubtedly a great factor in what has been referred to above as the modern spirit of Canadian nationality. The present attitude of the woollen and cotton manufacturers is enough to show that further tariff concessions are improbable. And any artificial attempt to divert, on a large scale, to Britain the trade which she at present fails to do with the Dominion would, at least as regards some items, involve a breach of the operation of natural economic laws. This is one of the most difficult features of the present situation. Of Canada's imports from the United States, about half consists of non-dutiable articles which could hardly come from elsewhere—certainly not from Britain, no matter how large a preference she might enjoy. But trade begets trade, and an English manufacturer of a certain line of machinery told the writer only the other day that he found it difficult to get orders in the Dominion: in such matters, he said, the Canadians are imitative, and prefer to supply themselves from the United States. There can be no doubt that, in spite of sentiment and adverse tariffs, a natural affinity in matters commercial exists between the two neighbouring peoples. This, however, cannot

be held to invalidate the position that, in regard to the Colonies generally, it is the interest and duty of the motherland to make every legitimate effort to establish the closest possible commercial union. It stands to reason that the Colonies must increase in population more rapidly than other parts of the world, and the experience of the next twenty-five years is certain to show that it was worth even some sacrifice now to try to make their trade flow in home channels. It is from this point of view that the advocates of tariff reform and revision feel justified in arguing that it should be made an item in a well-considered system of constructive and progressive imperial statesmanship.

And a closer commercial union—even if secured by treaties made with each of the Colonies separately—could not after all be scouted as a "squalid" basis for the imperial consolidation which is so much in men's thoughts to-day. In a recent article in the "Monthly Review" (January, 1905), Mr. Solano ably sustains the thesis that the history of British imperial dominion is practically one of the spread of civilization through economic expansion. "To whatever accident the British owe their descent upon the various continents of the world, this fact is clear—that they have remained established upon them; that they continue, to-day, to spread over the face of them by the force and virtue of economic activity. The next chapter in the history of this economic activity, considered as a dynamic force for the spread of civilization, may well be an attempt to consolidate imperial relations of trade." Certainly in Canada any well-considered policy that will promote commercial and industrial development will be welcomed by the whole body of the people. Reference was made in an earlier part of this paper to the attitude of the French Canadians to this and other matters. It is fortunate in many ways that the destinies of the Dominion should be wielded at the present time by a French-Canadian Premier. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has spoken in favour of commercial treaties with the motherland: he is even on record as prepared to contemplate an evolution in which the federal idea will present

itself quite naturally, when "a Parliament will perhaps be created, in which both the colonies and the mother country will be proportionally and equitably represented, and in which common interest will be discussed with full respect to the interest of each".

It must be admitted, however, that here Sir Wilfrid Laurier has a more difficult part to play, as any active steps towards the realization of such an ideal would not be very acceptable to the general body of his French-Canadian fellow-countrymen. This is a subject which is generally spoken of, as it were, with bated breath. But there seems to be no good reason why the facts should not be stated—quietly and dispassionately. They involve no discredit to an important and highly influential section of the Canadian people, whose long residence and varied political fortunes give it a claim to ample consideration in connexion with any suggested constitutional change. No one who knows the circumstances of the Dominion would expect from French-Canadians the same interest in the affairs of the British Empire as from their English-speaking fellow-citizens. It is no disparagement to them to say that they do not "come of the blood". They are of another stock, and one well qualified to contribute to the common fund elements that might otherwise be lacking, social grace and vivacity, artistic and literary culture, and a spirit of happy contentment that furnishes a pleasing contrast to the rush of life on the American continent. Their position within the Empire is altogether unique and at the same time profoundly interesting. They own a double allegiance, on the one hand to the British Crown, as the power which guarantees them the free use and enjoyment of their institutions, their language, and their laws, and on the other hand to the traditions of their race, the memories of the country from whence they came, but from which they have long been politically separated, and the associations of a literature which they proudly claim as their past heritage. And behind, or even above, these allegiances is their devotion to the soil of Canada—their native land. To the French Canadians "imperialism" has been made a word of fear, imply-

ing military aggression and the forceful overlordship of subject peoples, instead of a "business proposition" for co-operation in commerce, defence, and other matters. They are being taught by some of their leading spokesmen to regard a closer union with the Empire as incompatible with nationhood. They are exhorted not to forget that their rights and privileges were secured to them by the "contract" which was made at the time of the conquest, and expanded afterwards in later instruments such as the Quebec Act and the Act of 1791.

The separate school question in the new provinces, which is absorbing at present so much of the time and attention of the Canadian Parliament, is only another chapter in the French-Canadian version of the history of "state-rights". There was a time when they dreamed of dominating the North-west, and encircling British Ontario by a French nation on both flanks. That dream has passed away, and in the light of the conditions which have replaced it we may feel confident that, no matter what it may be found politically expedient to legislate at Ottawa, the future of the North-west will inevitably assert itself. Twenty years will be a long enough period to show whether the new provinces will reproduce the conditions which grew up in Eastern Canada, as the result of specific contract, before Confederation, or whether wider national ideals shall prevail, such as encourage Catholics and Protestants alike, on the other side of the line, to use the same schools and Universities. This is notably the case under the liberal administration, for example, of Archbishop Ireland at Minneapolis. Meanwhile English aloofness and stolidity are almost as much to blame as Church ascendency for the cultivation of separate interests, and the slowness of the process of national unification. Both sections of the population are aware that the development of their common country and even the integrity of confederation depend on their harmonious co-operation. But in many matters they remain apart, and in none more than in regard to current proposals for imperial consolidation. Mr. Henri Bourassa, for example, is of opinion that while his French

Canadian fellow-citizen has done his full duty to Great Britain, "by the Empire he does not feel that he has any duty to perform" ("Monthly Review," Oct., 1902, p. 59). A hostile attack on Australia or New Zealand would not necessarily mean anything to him, unless he happened to be in a mood to allow volunteers to go to the rescue. The programme of *La Ligue Nationaliste* as published in the Canadian press has probably never found its way into the English journals. It would be somewhat disturbing reading for optimists at home. Briefly, Canada is self-contained, and it is the peculiar mission of the French-Canadians—at least as represented by Mr. Bourassa and La Ligue—to keep her so! They will even discuss the admission of Newfoundland to Confederation from the point of view of its bearing on French-Canadian influence in the Dominion!

These are not the ideals which make for future greatness. At the same time they have to be reckoned with—in a spirit of sweet reasonableness and calm expostulation, not of resentful recrimination. They are not in accord with the general trend of political thought at home, as represented by either of the two great parties. "I believe that if anyone can suggest a scheme by which our self-governing Colonies can be brought into closer relationship with the mother country, in which they can bear their share of the imperial Defences, and have also a share of consultation in imperial matters—I believe the Liberal Party would heartily welcome the proposal." These are the words of a leading English statesman, the Rt. Hon. James Bryce. But the fact has to be faced that when such proposals come to be made, they will nowhere meet with greater opposition than in a large portion of French Canada. That will be the time of difficulty, so far as regards the application to Canada of that idea. It will be the time also—if indeed that time be not come—to urge, with all due consideration and deference, that the Dominion which we know to-day, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is *not* the little corner which Britain absorbed by right of conquest a century and a half ago. The federation of the Empire, if otherwise desirable and possible, will

not be blocked by the spirit of racial or religious sectionalism. And in proportion as Canada can achieve solidarity for herself, and bring about the gradual suppression of such elements—whether French or English—as prevent her harmonious and homogeneous development, in like proportion will she fit herself for taking the part which belongs of right to her, the leading part in the working out of a system of imperial consolidation. She is the first of the "new nations within the Empire". Can she wish for a higher or a weightier rôle?

THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A.[1]

THE gallant soldiers in whose honour we are met stand in no need of much speaking in order to be assured of our goodwill. But if I may trespass for a moment, in response to the Mayor's very flattering invitation, I should like to say that I am glad, in the first place, of the opportunity of echoing the sentiments to which the Chief Justice has given so eloquent expression, and proud at the same time to be identified in this way with the magnificent patriotism which is being displayed by one with whom I have the honour to be in somewhat intimate relations. To know Lord Strathcona is in itself a liberal education. His action in regard to this matter has challenged the admiration not only of the mother-country, but of the Empire at large; and in the coming century, which is to see—as we all hope and trust—so large an expansion of the idea of imperial unity, he will go down to history as one of the greatest of Empire builders. Canadians had already given proof, by their services in the expedition up the Nile, of their readiness to help the mother-country: but that was only, as it were, the faint prelude to the grand imperial chorus that was to be. No more dramatic scenes have ever been enacted in history than those which have attended the landing on South African shores of the "Grey Mother's" children:—

> Lo, how they come to me!
> Ah, how they turn to me!
> East and South my children scatter,
> North and West the world they wander,

[1] A farewell to Strathcona's Horse, 12 March, 1900.

Yet they come back to me:
Come with their brave hearts beating,
Longing to die for me.

The great war which, in the view of certain prophets of evil omen, was to strain the bonds of Empire to the breaking point, has served instead as an instrument of imperial federation more potent than any paper scheme could ever be. In the hour of her trouble, an immediate and spontaneous response went forth from end to end of England's world-wide empire: and now "colonial" blood shed in the common defence has sealed for all time the union with the old land of the daughter-nations of Great Britain.

The fear has been expressed—in the interests of your fighting qualities—that even before Strathcona's Horse can get to Capetown an end may have been put to the war. We shall all welcome peace when it comes: but I greatly mistake the Boer character if in the mountain fastnesses to the north of Pretoria they do not seek to carry on the struggle even after the inevitable surrender of their capital. For such operations no body of men could be better suited than the rough-riders of Strathcona's Horse. And in any case an army of occupation will be needed while the work of pacifying the country is going forward. Gentlemen, starting as you do to-night from the commercial metropolis of Canada, you will be able to say to the dwellers in the Transvaal that from such a settlement there is nothing they need fear. The history of this province proves it: it is to British sympathy with the aspirations of self-governing communities that Quebec owes the independence she enjoys, limited only by the obligations of confederation and loyalty to the Crown. When that settlement has been effected, one more proof will have been given to the world that it is not the ascendancy of one race over another that lies nearest to the British heart, but equal rights for all under the ample folds of the British flag. Great Britain has never acted upon the Roman maxim, that empire must be retained by the same forceful methods by which it was acquired; and the reward of that she is reaping to-day in the loyal affection and willing and enthusi-

astic co-operation of the "new nations within the Empire," imbued with the pride of liberty which she has been successful in inspiring in all the peoples under her sway. Gentlemen, in the name of all who strained their eyes to see your martial forms to-day—men, women, and children—I wish you God-speed. Go forth to play your part in the great imperial drama that is being enacted on the plains of South Africa! We shall follow your career with affectionate interest. Mingle your ranks with those of the men from the Old Country, with the contingents from Cape Colony and Natal, and from New Zealand and all parts of the great Australian continent. Never in the history of the world could such a scene have been witnessed before, and it would be altogether impossible to-day for any other country to duplicate it. The thought of it will strengthen and consolidate the growing sentiment of imperial unity—the feeling of fellowship with the old land in common duties, joint aspirations, like sacrifice and like suffering. That is the gain for all of us. But your special joy and pride it will be to hear the "Grey Mother" greet you in heart-stirring words:—

> Truly ye come of THE BLOOD!
> Flesh of the flesh that I bred, bone of the bone that I bare!
> Stark as your sons shall be—stern as your fathers were.

And then there comes the promise:—

> So long as THE BLOOD endures,
> I shall know that your good is mine;
> Ye shall feel that my strength is yours,
> In the day of Armageddon, at the last great fight of all,
> That OUR HOUSE stand together and the pillars do not fall.

B.[1]

This day witnesses the completion, under happier conditions, of a work which was taken in hand in the middle of a great war: a war of which it can be said, however unfortunate it may have been in some regards, however saddening the retrospect now—especially to some on this platform

[1] The inauguration of the Strathcona and South African monument. Montreal, 24 May, 1907.

whose loved ones have been taken from them—that it did more than anything in recent history to bind the Empire together.

The South African War did not arise out of what we call European entanglements. It was a war of colonial defence, in which British communities were threatened with military aggression; and when the mother-country went to their rescue, the "new nations within the Empire" felt that they had an obvious interest in a struggle which had been undertaken, not with a view to the ascendancy of one race over another, but to secure justice for the oppressed and equal rights for all.

Our Governor-General, who is so happily represented here to-day, put this point quite admirably in a letter which he addressed to me, as Chairman of the Monument Committee, when he found that his visit to England would prevent him from being present with us on this occasion. "Had I been at your unveiling ceremony," Lord Grey wrote, "I should of course have dwelt upon the fact that we went to war, and had to go to war, to obtain equal rights for Briton and Boer, and that, having won, we were not afraid to achieve our ideals. Result—BOTHA!"

And now let me offer the briefest possible narrative of the movement which is to culminate in the unveiling of this monument and its presentation to the city of Montreal.

After the sending of the contingents, Strathcona's Horse, ideally represented from henceforth in our midst by the heroic figure about to be uncovered, went out from Montreal on 12 March, 1900. There had been some talk of erecting a Soldiers' Monument in memory of the brave men who had already fallen on the battle-fields of South Africa, and towards the end of the month a meeting was held in the Board of Trade to promote this object. When later on in the same year Lord Strathcona visited Montreal, public appreciation of his distinguished services took an even more definite form, and at an enthusiastic meeting of the citizens held on 15 November, 1900, an influential committee was formed to obtain funds for the erection of a statue in honour

of the Grandest of Canada's Grand Old Men! This compliment Lord Strathcona, after due consideration, felt constrained to deprecate; and in a communication addressed to one of his friends here his Lordship expressed the wish that the proposed memorial should be one in which his own personality should be subordinated to the recognition and commemoration of broader issues.

Thereupon it was decided to amalgamate the two movements and to go forward to the erection of a "Strathcona and South African Monument" as we are to see it to-day, with its twofold inscription, and its harmonious blending of the personality of one whom we may still call our leading citizen with the troopers whom he equipped for the war and with the general body of the Canadian contingents.

Funds were readily obtained, with the result that the monument which is to be unveiled to-day represents an expenditure of some $30,000. But it was only after peace had been happily concluded that the Committee in charge took the step of calling for competitive designs by public advertisement throughout Canada, as well as in London, Boston, and New York; and by the end of 1902 we had over thirty from which to make a selection. After careful examination, in the course of which all the conditions of anonymous competition were scrupulously observed, the choice of the Committee fell on this model of an equestrian group as one which, with certain modifications, was considered satisfactory; and when on opening the sealed envelope, it was found that the successful competitor was a local sculptor, Mr. George W. Hill, acting in collaboration with the Messrs. Maxwell as architects, the Committee felt that it had so far every reason to congratulate itself on the result of its labours. The contract was let in June, 1903; and since that time the artist has been busily engaged over his work.

May I be permitted to say by way of conclusion that my colleagues and I are confident that Mr. Hill has produced, in this equestrian group, a work of art well worthy of his subject and of the City of Montreal? When I visited his studio in Paris last summer, it was a gratification to learn

of the high encomia that had been passed upon his work by the greatest of French sculptors, and I know that when it is unveiled your applause will confirm their verdict. In the name of his fellow-citizens I congratulate Mr. Hill on his fine production, and also the architects whose pedestal shows it off to the best possible advantage. And on their behalf, as well as for the Committee, I beg leave to thank Your Excellency for coming to Montreal to discharge the duty which is now to be entrusted to you.

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE.[1]

A GLANCE at the list of subjects dealt with at meetings of this Club during the last two years made me doubt at first whether there was anything left that I could tell you. With such a course of lectures as has been provided for you, your education must be just about complete! It certainly has been varied. Well, variety is what I am trying to cultivate on this western trip. I am generally condemned, when I appear in public, to speak only of McGill and education. The topic is apt to pall, especially before some audiences, and so it is a pleasure at times to get away from it. The other day at Boston, for example, I had the opportunity in connexion with the opening of the Intercolonial Club there of discoursing to a large and influential body of expatriated Canadians on the glories of the country they had left—with incidental allusions to certain prominent features of the citizenship they had taken in exchange. What better subject can I find, here in the very heart of the Dominion—at the very centre, as it were, of Canadian gravity—than our country and the Empire of which it forms a part? Canada is so vast in extent of territory that the more we avail ourselves of the opportunity of comparing notes the better it will be for the upbuilding of our common nationality. It is true that, like many here present, I am not a native-born Canadian, though for the last fourteen years I have been doing my best to wipe out that reproach. Some men are born in Canada, and others have Canada thrust on them. I am among the others. I am what is called an "imported blessing". And that is what enables me to cultivate a patriotism which, while always putting Canada first, takes

[1] An address delivered before the Canadian Club, Winnipeg, 11 January, 1908.

perhaps a wider and a broader view of our relations with the rest of the Empire than you sometimes hear stated by public men. Yes, and I think I know the heart of the people on the other side of the water—better, perhaps, than some native-born Canadians. Some of my friends seem to be unduly apprehensive that our imperial relations will interfere with the full and free development of Canadian nationality. I do not share that apprehension. Provided that I am allowed to give a sane definition of the term, I do not object to call myself an imperialist. For to me imperialism is not militarism, or jingoism, or megalomania, or flag-waving and the beating of big drums, or the enthralment of other peoples by a superior power: in its sane and sober acceptation it is the expression of an aspiration which may be cherished in full sympathy with democratic ideals—the aspiration, namely, and the desire that, for the high and noble purposes of its world-wide mission, the British Empire may be enabled to hold together in all coming time. The component states will always be able to maintain an individuality of their own. Your Scotchman, for example, is cosmopolitan by nature: but let me add that not even the most complete amalgamation with her richer and more powerful neighbour has prevented Scotland from maintaining throughout her later history all the characteristics of a proud and self-reliant nationality. The problem for the Empire to-day is to follow the Scotchman's lead and get all that can be got out of imperial union without sacrificing national traditions and characteristics. In spite of my Scottish birth, I am able, as I have said, to put Canada first. When I revisit my native city of Edinburgh—the most beautiful on earth—I always feel the thrill of patriotism surging through my soul; but alongside of that patriotism and pride of birth, when I return to Canada, and pass up the greatest and grandest waterway in the world, a new pride and a new patriotism take possession of my heart. I know that I have been privileged to become a citizen of a country which is destined to play a foremost part in the evolution of the history that is to be, and I pray that, in free and equal co-operation with the other component states of a

united Empire, Canada may remain true to the pursuit of common interests, the defence of common independence, and the love of common liberties.

If I were to repeat to you all the evidences of our present prosperity which I poured into the ears of the Canadians who form the Intercolonial Club at Boston, you would readily understand how sorry I made them feel that they had thrown in their lot with another country. In addition to the ordinary statistics about grain, and minerals, and timber products, and fisheries, and sheep, and cattle, and manufactures, and transportation—all of which I had at my fingers' ends for the occasion—I gave them some of the cream of recent speeches by Mr. James J. Hill, especially the one at Chicago on Canadian reciprocity. I showed them, in Mr. Hill's own words, that Canada is to-day being re-discovered by the United States. And I expect soon to hear that the members of that organization, who are all American citizens, have passed a resolution favouring an immediate return to the land of their origin!

The growth and development of our Dominion is certainly one of the most wonderful phenomena of modern times. I am not sure that we who are, as it were, on the spot quite realize how it strikes the imagination of those who are further away, especially the people of the homeland. Take some of the aspects of current Canadian history. Within the limits of our own lives we have seen the spectacle of feeble, ill-compacted, dependent and disunited colonies growing, under a constitution which has proved itself capable of meeting every new development, into a great and powerful people. We have seen two great branches of this people—the English-speaking and the French-speaking Canadians—agreeing on the whole to forget their ancient animosities, and steadily approaching each other in the bonds of mutual sympathy and national fellowship. We have compelled our neighbours on the other side of the line to recognize that we are in earnest about working out our national destiny in the spirit of men who know and feel that there is room on this vast continent for the evolution of more than one type of citizenship, and

for the realization of more than one political ideal. Our age will always be remembered as the age in which men had the imagination to conceive and the strength and tenacity of purpose to execute great constructive works which, thrown across the whole extent of a continent, have enabled us in very truth to have "dominion from sea to sea". Some criticism has come to us lately about our alleged want of "soul". It is said that our civilization is unduly material: that the atmosphere of the market-place and the counting-house is too much with us, and that we seem to be content to have our country "run by a syndicate". To all this we may truthfully reply that on the basis of our great and growing commercial and industrial prosperity we are endeavouring to build up other elements of thought and feeling and aspiration—in science, politics, history, art, letters—that will enable us to take our rightful place among the nations to which has been entrusted the keeping of the sacred fire.

But we must not mislead ourselves by excessive self-praise. It is well at the same time to have an eye for the defects of our qualities. One of our difficulties arises from the very size and extent of our country. Conditions are so various, and the circumstances and surroundings of life in different centres so highly diversified, that many people seem to find it hard to realize the indispensable conception of unity. We must rise superior to any handicap that geography may appear to have set on our political evolution. We must seek to foster and promote every agency that will help us to develop our common citizenship. In some of its aspects Canadian life has been too much split up and divided, as it were, into different compartments. We hear too much of the provinces at times, and too little of the nation. Local interests are apt to be too prominent, and if we are forced to give them undue recognition we shall always be in danger of suffering from that most exasperating of all political afflictions, the curse of having little men to fill our big places. It is said that even in making appointments to his Cabinet, a Canadian Prime Minister must have regard to the element of local representation. We shall have to travel a little farther along the path marked out

for us among the nations before we can realize and act on the belief that in all such matters it is alike our duty and our interest to take the best talent wherever it may be found. Edmund Burke's advice to his countrymen, to exalt the general good of the nation above every local purpose and prejudice, may still be taken to heart by us. You will remember his epigram that by being elected, say, for Bristol, a man does not become thereby a member of Bristol but a member of Parliament!

No doubt local interests require attention, but they ought not to engross it. Something should be spared for the cultivation of the broadest possible outlook on Canadian national life as a whole. As time goes on we shall probably have a larger supply of able men ready and willing to devote themselves to the public service. That is a matter in regard to which England—England, with all her faults!—has the advantage over us. We have not yet, as they have there, a class of men who, secure in the possession of an adequate basis of inherited wealth, can afford the time and leisure requisite for a political career. With us the attractions of business, where the great prizes are open to all, are apt to count for more. But it is for us to justify our faith in democratic institutions by producing a larger supply of men of the right stamp—men who will consent to look on public office as a public trust. Calculations of private advantage and personal interest should be put far from those who undertake to serve the public. If the conditions of modern life, with its strong individualism in matters of belief, forbid them to make a parade of religion, they can substitute for it in their public acts what a late Archbishop of Canterbury said would do equally well, a "quiet sense of duty":—

> Some sense of duty
> Something of a faith,
> Some reverence for the laws ourselves have made,
> Some patient force to change them when we will,
> Some civic manhood, firm against the crowd.

These lines, from Tennyson's "Princess," admirably indicate some of the qualities we should endeavour to infuse

into our ideal of patriotism, and some of the principles on which we should base our conception of public service.

So much for the development of our own citizenship, and for the forces and influences that ought to go to the moulding of our national character. What am I to say now of our relations to the mother-country, and to the other component states of the mighty Empire of which I hope that this Dominion may for ever continue to form a part? This is a subject which I approach with a mixture of confidence and trepidation. I know all about "The Englishman in Canada"—especially in the West, having both seen him, and having also read what has been written about him of late in our newspapers and magazines. The man from over-seas who arrives in this country and expects to be welcomed as "one of the owners" is probably a familiar figure to many of us. An excellent story was told me the other day about an Englishman who was overheard on board ship saying: "Now, these *dollars* of theirs, dash me if *I* am going to speak about *dollars: I* shall stick to pounds, shillings, and pence". Such an utterance showed, to say the least, a certain defect as regards the indispensable power of adaptation. But let us be just. That is not the only type we have taken over from the motherland. And we must not build on it an indictment against the Empire. It is just as foolish to condemn the English public schools wholesale on the ground of some of the specimens of their output which have found their way out to us. When all has been said that can be said, we ought to be—and we are—proud of our imperial connexion. For we know that in the world as we find it to-day the strength and prosperity of our united Empire affords one of the best possible guarantees of order and freedom, justice, peace, and progress. These are words which often come glibly to our tongues, and yet as we use them we should remember that "each of them represents long centuries of struggle and aspiration. In their combination in the British Empire they are the highest that has as yet been attained in the social and political development of the world. They are the expressions of the will of an imperial people formed by long centuries of a hard

and chequered yet progressive experience" (Kirkup, "South Africa," p. 101).

The British Empire is the largest and most notable in the world to-day, or that ever has existed. It represents three centuries of patient progressive effort, and now it covers about one-fourth of the world's surface, and embraces more than one-fourth of the world's inhabitants. Moreover it may well be said to be unique in character and organization. It is the only system that has made good the old motto—Imperium et Libertas: it has really and truly reconciled Empire and Liberty. No empire known to history, except the British Empire, has shown itself capable of containing a variety of independent or practically independent governments. The problem before us to-day is how to keep the self-governing parts in touch with each other and with the centre. If you are interested in the solution of that problem, you are what I call an imperialist. Certainly you will want to "go on with the experiment". Those who insist on raising this subject are often charged with an excess of zeal, just as though it were a culpable offence to be interested in the practical possibility of some form of federation or alliance among the various members of the British race, even with the proviso that such a league, if it can be brought about, must be the result not of pressure or dictation from the motherland, but of the wishes of those whom Mr. Kipling has called the "new nations within the Empire". The security of the present position is that we are not likely to agree on any wrong move, and without more or less general agreement we shall not move at all.

The caution with which this position is stated ought to disarm all criticism. In public talks on the subject, I have been in the habit of remarking that it is expedient in Canada to spell imperialism with a small "i," instead of with a capital letter. No doubt there has been in some quarters a certain excess of statement. There are always some who want to go too fast, and who have a prejudice in favour of the particular route by which they desire to reach their goal. On the other hand, there are others who are too slow, and

who do not see where they are drifting to. Personally, I am of opinion that those who can't get further than such phrases as "Let well alone!" or "We are happy as we are!" have had the floor long enough. It often looks as if they really cared less about imperial unity and co-operation than they do about the separate status of the several nations of which our Empire is composed. With all respect to such persons, it is probably not too much to say that there must be a good deal of sentiment not always loudly uttered, and sometimes even mute and inarticulate, in favour of some effort to secure an imperial unity that shall endure. Perhaps the word "empire" is in itself unfortunate. It suggests military power, and holding by the sword that which the sword has won. But the element of force need have no part in our political theory. Its place is taken by voluntary co-operation—the union of a vast and powerful aggregate of self-governing communities, all belonging to the same family circle. The Empire of the future must satisfy democratic aspirations, and rest on the broad basis of a democratic ideal. Even the old mother is coming to understand that it is not a question of sovereignty, but of what will grow to be more and more a free and equal alliance. The ideal is not one of a "cluster of subordinate units grouped in deferential pose round an imperial centre," for it is now accepted as axiomatic that no scheme of Empire will be tolerated which fails to take account of national status. Self-government is the guarantee of equality in this regard.

Your late visitor, Mr. Kipling, has done more than any living writer to develop the feeling that the man at the circumference counts for as much as the man at the centre, and that they ought to be interested in each other. The thing is to develop in the minds and hearts of both the sense of partnership. From the English point of view, imperialism was quite adequately defined by Lord Ampthill, speaking last month to a sympathetic audience in Paris: "What the ordinary Englishman understands by imperialism," he said, "when party zeal has not made him unthinking and reckless, is simply patriotism in a wider sense, patriotism which ex-

tends beyond the borders of his own country to the countries which his kith and kin have colonized, and which are governed by his fellow-countrymen as part of the dominions of his nation". And from our side there is surely an answering note to this definition in the hearts of all who desire that Canada shall continue to be part and parcel of our imperial heritage. No matter what may be the geographical barriers that separate the component states from each other, no matter what the differences of race and interest may amount to, they have—each and all of them—the opportunity of cultivating the feeling of unity in respect of language, laws, and institutions, of the honours and privileges of their imperial status, and of the inestimable advantages of a common freedom.

But we are told that while it is all very well to rejoice in the privileges and potentialities of our joint imperial inheritance, the danger for Canada begins when it is implied that there are corresponding responsibilities and obligations. And those who dislike the subject are fond of arguing that a country such as this must not tie its hands in any way, and that if imperial relations prove to be in any way incompatible with the fullest and freest development, imperial relations will have to be sacrificed. Nothing is to be tolerated, they will say, that limits or prejudices the autonomy of the Dominion. How is it with business partnerships? The man who goes into partnership with others is not quite as free an agent as he was before he signed his articles: he has accepted in the common interest certain limitations on his freedom. It is the same with nations. Interdependence is the ruling principle of all partnerships, not independence: but equality of status need not thereby be prejudiced in any way.

Some anti-Imperialists speak and write as though the whole thing was a plot to give what they call the "British element" an unrighteous preponderance. This is a bogey that ought not to frighten anyone, certainly not anyone who realizes the meaning of the Roman citizen's proud boast, "I was free-born". We have all heard of the "Little

Englander": let us be on our guard against the manufacture of the "Little Canadian".

Of course it should not be forgotten that Canada has for many years been giving assistance to the Empire in many indirect ways. Apart from expenditure on transport and administration, she has enforced the fisheries regulations with the United States at a cost of from a quarter to half a million dollars per annum, she has patrolled the Great Lakes, surveyed the coasts, assumed the custody of Halifax (with Esquimalt to follow), and is instituting wireless telegraphy on both the Atlantic and the Pacific. And not even those who are most careful to point out these items refuse to look forward to the day when it may be our pride and pleasure to do more. On the other hand, persons who ask of what use the British navy is to Canada stultify themselves and show their ignorance of the teachings of history. The Pacific, following on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic successively, may be the next scene in the drama of human development, and no one will say that Canada has no interests in the Pacific. Do not let us conjure up imaginary dangers. But it must surely be obvious to an impartial observer that at this very moment it is only the naval power of Great Britain that can protect our Western coast from invasion and occupation by an Asiatic power. This is hardly the time for mean-spirited people to go on rehearsing the argument that, even without her colonies, Britain would need to keep up just as big a fleet. It should not be forgotten that it is under the protection of the Navy that the Empire has grown up, and is still maintained and preserved. If Britain had not had the command of the seas, her Empire would have made a somewhat meagre show on the map of the world to-day. What she won for us on this North American Continent, she made a free gift to us, to deal with as we may think best. I quote Prof. Wrong of Toronto: "to her we owe our vast territory, to her we owe our present security in the face of what might be an imminent danger; and our people ought to be told this over and over again until they see what it really means".

No doubt there is the fiscal question, and in England the policy of tariff reform, looming up behind what so many of our people consider mere sentimental talk about imperialism. Commerce is certainly the strongest of all the bonds of Empire. Then there is the problem of Defence. Do not let us forget, in thinking of the fleet, that whether trade be free or preferential it is above all things necessary that it shall be secure; and our commercial security depends on the continued unity of the Empire. It is fortunate for Canada that these matters have been hitherto kept outside the domain of party politics. Neither side has identified itself with tariff reform to the extent of presuming to tell England what is good for her. The commercial aspect of Mr. Chamberlain's policy Canadians are quite willing to leave in the hands of those whom it mainly concerns. In spite of the argument that it is, after all, only a family compact—only a "domestic set-to about household accounts"—they appreciate the great dislocation of industry that would be the first result to the motherland, and their own commercial interests are safe, no matter what the issue may be. The attitude that is most to be deprecated in regard to the whole question is, as I have already said, the complacent view that all is already for the best, that our relations with the motherland are ideal, and that any change could not fail to be a change in the wrong direction. When I hear such things said, I know that I am in the presence of men who probably care less about imperial unity and co-operation than they do about the separate status of the several nations of which the Empire is composed. Nor do I feel that I am greatly in love with such formulæ as "practical independence under the Crown". No doubt that golden link is a bond of Empire, especially under present circumstances. But when we find men ready to pin their imperial faith to such a phrase, along with suggestions about independent treaty-making powers, and the further argument that Ireland ought to have the same status as Canada, it is perhaps permissible to feel that we are on somewhat dangerous ground. Even Mr. Keir-Hardie had to be called down when he persisted in making speeches which showed that he

did not appreciate the difference of conditions as between India and the Dominion.

The hope of those who want to see the Empire evolve itself into a more harmonious and self-conscious whole lies in the probability that the "new nations" will pass beyond the stage of national consciousness into the stage of national responsibility, as they are now rapidly doing, and that, as Dr. Parkin has put it, "When they come to feel the sense of national responsibility as deeply as they now feel national consciousness, you will have that condition of mind which will bring them to co-operate in all the great interests of the Empire, make them willing to act together, and constitute for the purposes of national life the National Government which will give effect to the opinions of the whole. What our business is, is to find out what is best for the whole, with the central idea of the united action of the British people in all parts of the world for the preservation of peace and the promotion of civilization."

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.[1]

I THANK you for the kindness and cordiality of your reception. These visits to the great centres of American life are always pleasing interludes in the somewhat strenuous existence which we lead up in Montreal; and on the well-established principle of reciprocity, I suppose there are many of you who can say the same thing in regard to us. But one is sometimes rather at a loss to know exactly what is expected of a speaker—one of several who are to address you—at a banquet such as this. As a University Professor I know what it is to lecture for a solid hour—we can seldom do with less!—on a definite subject to young persons in pursuit of knowledge. They have to take what is given them: it is so stipulated in the bond! But you have come together tonight in circumstances which hardly lend themselves to what is known as the "public lecture," and I must try to take you in lighter vein. Do not let me bore you by being too long. I have a painful memory of a banquet in one of your chief cities at which they could hardly get me to stop. But then I had been asked to speak about Scotland and the Scotch to Scotch people on St. Andrew's night—and I hope and believe that I was forgiven!

This is the formal dedication of your new club-house, and I must first offer my congratulations on the success which has attended your efforts to establish it. Especially on their social side, clubs are a natural and necessary part of our modern life. Apart from the opportunities of relaxation they afford, they have shown themselves to be distinct factors in raising the tone and standard of manners in the community. Conduct which in England—not much more than a

[1] An address delivered before the Intercolonial Club of Boston, 16 December, 1907.

generation ago—was not considered unbecoming a gentleman, would now effectually secure the exclusion of the offender, or his expulsion, from any well-conducted club. And the club has of course its other uses, especially when, like yours, it is established for the promotion of some definite object. The only trouble is that the object is sometimes too definite, and then you have to get people to agree about it. On the other hand you have clubs which expressly prohibit any discussion in regard to those abiding sources of human harmony —politics and religion! And there are clubs which tell you that if you ever feel impelled to relieve your feelings by writing to the newspapers you must not use the club notepaper, or the club address—lest in any way you may seem to identify neutrals with your partisan views.

In strong contrast to such restrictions—more or less intelligible when men of widely-divergent views are meeting from day to day in the same club premises—are the Canadian Clubs which in recent years have sprung up in most of our great Canadian cities. These clubs have become an important feature in our Canadian national life. They are doing good all over the country—so much so that the women have come to be envious of the opportunities they afford, and the first Canadian Women's Club was inaugurated in Montreal last week by His Excellency The Governor-General. Mr. Root, when he was with us early in the current year, spoke of these Canadian Clubs as furnishing an excellent basis for "that intelligent discussion and consideration of public questions which enables men who are not in office to perform their duties as self-governors". Certainly they are helping the average citizen to maintain his interest in public affairs, and to gain broad views of the various questions that arise from time to time affecting the life of the local community, or the wider activities of the State—questions that need all the light that can be thrown on them by wide education and patient impartial study. Apart from local aims, quite natural and justifiable in view of the American citizenship to which you have given your adhesion, I understand that you have another public object at heart in your gathering to-night,

which has been stated to me as the bringing about of better relations between Canada and the United States. That is an object which should be dear to the hearts of all who are looking to the steady and harmonious advancement of our common civilization. If I were to take that word "intercolonial" itself—the name by which you have called your Club—I might make of it a text on which could be hung what I have to say on this subject. So far as I am aware the word "intercolonial" was first used in our literature by that eminent and far-sighted Canadian statesman, Joseph Howe, and it was probably the result of his advocacy of the scheme that this was the name given to the railway that connects the Maritime Provinces with Quebec and Montreal. But there were days when the same word, *intercolonial*, might have been applied to such relations as existed between the New England colonies and those to the north, and in that acceptation the name you have given to your Club may be interpreted as very fitly indicating one of the objects you have at heart to-night. Of course, you will not get the American people to take kindly to any revival of the word "colony". Canada has herself altogether outgrown the colonial status.

Those of you who cherish old associations, and especially the Nova Scotians in your ranks, may care to be reminded that there was once a "Viscount Canada"—that title having been bestowed by Charles I on the Scottish Knight, Sir William Alexander, to whom that monarch, in 1621, made a grant of land which included the whole peninsula at Fundy Bay. As a territorial title, the style of "Viscount Canada" would mean a good deal more to-day than it did then! We are, or are going to become, a nation, and not a colony. It is one of the sources of annoyance and misunderstanding that English newspapers still persist in writing about what they call "our colonists," and sometimes when the Englishman visits Canada, he seems to expect to be welcomed as "one of the owners". Perhaps the greatest service we could render at the present time would be to invent a word that would rightly designate those component states which

Mr. Kipling styled the "new nations within the Empire". Canada is not a colony; it is a "democratic republic under the gentle sovereignty of the parent-state".

Well, as to what may be called those "intercolonial relations," I am told that in Boston alone there are at present over 70,000 persons who were born in the Canadian Maritime Provinces, and it is probably a conservative estimate to say that some 3,000,000 of our people have found a home in the Great Republic. Such is the toll that Canada has paid to her giant neighbour—with incidental consequences that put one in mind at times of the successful invasion of England by the Scotch! This long-continued drain—which accounts to some extent for the slow growth of our population—is being balanced now, as you are all aware, by the movement which is taking the American farmer across the border into Manitoba and the North-west. Canada is being rediscovered by the United States. As Mr. Choate said at the dinner which the Pilgrims gave Lord Grey, last year, "We've got a neighbour here to reckon with such as we never thought. She is likely to become a successful competitor. If she goes on as she has been doing in the last five years, she will be able to feed the mother-country without any help from us." And what an object-lesson it is to the world at large that for nearly a whole century, along the 3000 mile boundary line which separates the territory and jurisdiction of the two countries, there has never been heard the sound of a hostile gun, no garrison fortress has reared its threatening head, while on the great lakes we have limited our respective armaments, by a simple interchange of notes happily still operative, to single one-hundred ton boats, with single eighteen pound cannon! Along that extended frontier the two countries face each other, without thought or fear of war, and strong in the strength of respect for mutual rights.

Gentlemen, I am a sincere admirer of the United States. Except that he was somewhat ruthless in his dealings with the Loyalists, George Washington is one of my national heroes! Most Englishmen are rather proud, than otherwise, of the revolt of the American colonies. And they can well

afford to express their admiration—not unmixed with a sort of parental pride—for the political genius which has enabled this people to extend its national institutions across the breadth of a vast continent, and to combine various races of immigrants into one great nation. But to-day the interest of the old land is centred rather upon Canada. And from the point of view of material prosperity, as well as in other ways, the eldest daughter-state is certainly doing a great deal to repay that affectionate regard. Canada stands to-day pretty much where the United States stood before the Civil War. Perhaps the greatest service this country ever did to Canada was the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty in 1866. Mistakes in these days were not infrequent. It was about that time that British statesmen showed so deplorable a lack of imagination when they came under an obligation to give certain European powers exactly the same privileges in the Canadian market as those which the mother-country enjoyed, and which it was her interest to develop. In point of commercial independence, the Dominion has benefited to such an extent by the ill-treatment she received from the United States—chiefly on the ground of a mistaken idea that Canada had sympathized with the South during the Civil War, and also because of the belief that she was getting the best of the bargain—that it almost seems now as though we had triumphed permanently over the conditions, the geographical conditions, of the economic problem. The trade relations of the Maritime Provinces should naturally have been, as I know many of you feel, with Massachusetts and the other New England States. Western Quebec and Ontario turn to New York and the Middle West; Manitoba and the North-west to Dakota and Minnesota; while British Columbia pays a heavy price for its trade connexion with the East, rather than with Washington and Oregon. But after many abortive attempts to secure a renewal of the treaty, in one form or another, Canada settled down manfully to achieving commercial and industrial independence, and you all know how well she has succeeded in the task. In the trade we are building up now with the different parts of the

Empire, our Canadian cities—St. John, Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Victoria—count for a good deal more than they would have done had the boundary line been obliterated, commercially speaking, to the greater gain of Boston, New York, Buffalo, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Spokane, Seattle, and San Francisco. The determination not to be absorbed has resulted in an economical development that has shown itself to be in a great degree independent of the United States.

In spite of hostile tariffs, our trade with the United States has been largely increased, but it is mainly on lines that do not seem to need any special encouragement. Mr. James J. Hill, in the remarkable plea he made towards the end of 1906 for unrestricted commerce, brought out the fact that the States do nearly as much business with the Dominion as with the whole of the South American continent put together. The danger at present to Canada seems to be too much American capital.

And, perhaps, there are other things which we don't want to take over in their entirety from the United States. No features of the American national character command greater admiration than its resourcefulness, its ingenuity and inventiveness, and its power of initiative. As Milton said long ago of their British progenitors, the people of these United States is "a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to". It is in the school of experience that national character is formed. Speaking the other day at Oxford of the training which the old country has enjoyed in the problems of its extended Empire—problems often arising without warning and requiring to be settled on the spot by individuals thousands of miles away from the seat and centre of authority—Lord Curzon drew a parallel with the similar gain to the American character that had resulted from the westward march of her pioneers. "In no land," he said, "and upon no people are the evidences of this influence more plainly stamped. Not till the mountains (the

Alleghanies) were left behind and the American pioneers began to push across the trackless plains, did America cease to be English and become American. In the forests and on the trails of the frontier, amid the savagery of conflict, the labour of reclamation and the ardours of the chase, the American nation was born. Thus that wonderful and virile democracy, imbued with the courage and tenacity of its forefathers, but fired with an eager and passionate exultation, sprang into being."

That is a just estimate. But now that the American people has settled down to an assured career among the nations of the earth, it may be asked whether pushfulness, and what the average man seems to reverence as "smartness," need continue to be such prominent features in American national life. I am not here to assume the rôle of a censor, and so I may leave unsaid some things that might be not inappropriately stated in regard to the fallacy that in order to get ahead in this world you must always be shoving other people out of your way. We had a little talk on Saturday night at Harvard about some features of athletics of which some of us are not altogether enamoured. Then there is American journalism, which under existing conditions is not without its influence also on our Canadian Press. Some one has said, speaking in no hostile spirit, that the three main symbols of American civilization are the railroad, the newspaper, and the school. Without unduly disparaging the other two, it may be said that the last-named is not the least promising of the three. For it is in the school that something may be done to instil in the minds of the young a fuller appreciation of the good old maxims of morality—"Do unto others," "Live and let live"—and other sound principles which seem at times to be in danger of being somewhat lost sight of in the reckless and feverish haste that marks so many departments of our modern life. Independently altogether of the religious question, we shall have to give more attention in our schools to ethical teaching—to a training in morals and manners, in habits and conduct, especially as regards fair-play and what may be called good form. Few can tell what

an influence for the exorcising of the unclean spirit of corruption in public life might be wielded by more systematic efforts to develop a love even for clean sport in the school. There is a tendency, in a modern democratic society, to push the demands of equality so far as to endanger the claims of discipline. That should not, and need not be. The wise Greeks knew that of all the evils which may afflict a state there can be none greater than what they called *Anomia* or lawlessness. Perhaps what this people needs most at the present time is that some prophet should arise—some latter-day Savonarola—who shall set himself to stem the tide that is setting in the direction of a decline in reverence and respect for authority, and preach the wider freedom that comes from obedience to law.

And it is greatly to be desired that in public life to-day there should be available a larger supply of men who will consent to look on public office as a public trust. It somewhat shakes one's faith in democracy to find that here in the United States, for example, after more than a century of experience, the responsibilities of public life are sometimes not fully realized, or the need for keeping up the highest standard of personal conduct. Uprightness and fair dealing, such as should make it impossible to secure legislation in the interests of a privileged and protected few, are indispensable before the nation as a whole can cultivate that keen sense of civic duty and patriotism that ought to be the foundation-stone of the Republic. In Canada we have these and other troubles of our own—difficulties which need not here be specified in detail. The attractions of public life are not sufficient to draw into the service of the State men of the highest ability. The material prizes to be gained in business count for more. There is no class such as exists, for example, in England which, with a basis of hereditary wealth, can secure the time and leisure necessary for a political career. And with the constant advance in prices, and the increase in the cost of living, men are too busy earning money for the supply of their needs to devote themselves to the public service. Moreover we hear too much of the provinces and too little of the nation in Canada.

Our activities are to a great extent provincial, and one might think it was a point of honour in one province not to know what is doing in the same department on the other side of the provincial boundary-line. What we need is less concentration on local interests and a broader outlook on Canadian national life as a whole.

And what of our relations to the mother-land? Canada lies, as it were, half-way between the United States and England, and ought to be very helpful in making each understand and appreciate the other. That was a fine sentence of Joseph Howe's, in which he spoke of his country "standing between the two great nations whose blood we share, to moderate their counsels and preserve them in the bonds of peace". Canada helps England to understand the mental attitude of Americans, especially in the sphere of social and political thought. And she helps the people of this country to appreciate the fact that the last word as to ideals of free government has *not* yet been said even in the Great Republic, and that it is possible for a state, though nominally under monarchical rule, to enjoy institutions fully as free, and liberty, public and private, fully as unrestricted as anywhere under the Stars and Stripes. As to the relations between Canada and England, the chief interest of the situation attaches at present to imperial conferences and the question of tariff reform. To take the last first: it was the late Robert Lowe who made the epigram that Britain had lost one-half of her Empire trying to tax the colonies and was now in danger of losing the other half by allowing the colonies to tax her. But this is hardly true of Canada. For while the present government has taken over enough of the National Policy to protect manufactures and to raise revenue, no political party in the Dominion has identified itself with tariff reform to the extent of presuming to tell England what is good for her. The commercial side of Mr. Chamberlain's policy Canadians are quite willing to leave in the hands of those whom it mainly concerns. In spite of the argument that it is, after all, only a family compact, they appreciate the great dislocation of industry that would be the first result in the mother-land, and

their own commercial interests are safe, no matter what the issue may be. But some of them have more to say as to the so-called imperialism, a word which, by the way, in Canada, it is always well to spell with a small "i" and not a capital letter! Imperialism has been made a name of fear to some people, with latent suggestions of militarism and "jingoism" and overlordship. But there is a growing response to a more generous definition of the word in the hearts of all Canadians who desire that their country shall remain part and parcel of the glorious heritage that has been handed down to us in the British Empire. We have outgrown the mistakes of the old colonial system. The sentiment of kinship has taken the place of the idea of ownership and possession, and the daughter-states have the opportunity now of standing out before the world as a league of kindred nations. The British are the only people who have succeeded in establishing and maintaining colonies in every part of the world, and under every variety of condition, a variety which has, however, this one universal feature, viz.: that their rule is everywhere for the good of the governed as well as to the advantage of the ruling power. And no Empire in the world can ever surpass the British Empire in extent and area, in population, in wealth, or in the diversity of its resources. An excess of zeal is sometimes alleged against the so-called imperialists, just as though it were a culpable offence to express one's belief in the practical possibility of some form of federation or alliance among the various members of the British race, even with the proviso that such a league, if it can be brought about, must be the result not of pressure or dictation by the mother-land, but of the wishes of our colonial fellow-subjects themselves.

It is some time ago now since Sir Harry Parkes, who may be said to have laid the foundations of the Australian Commonwealth, expressed the ideal at which we are aiming when he said, in language which can hardly be improved, that we should make it our aim that "all the people who live under the sceptre of Queen Victoria should be brought within the bounds of political kinship, and made to feel that, however

divided by the geographical features of the globe, they are one people, not only in language, religion, laws, and institutions, but in the privileges and honours of the Empire, and in the intercommunicable blessings of one common freedom ".

But we are sometimes told that we are too exacting, and that a partnership which involves a share of imperial responsibilities and obligations as well as of imperial rights and privileges may prove to be an irksome and onerous partnership. Certainly let us be on our guard against asking for too much, and indeed against asking for anything at all, especially at the wrong time. A direct subsidy from Canada, for instance, to the British navy cannot be unconditionally advocated. For one thing, the financial development of the country has not yet reached the stage that would render it possible. And it is true, on the other hand, that Canada has for many years been giving assistance to the Empire in more indirect ways.

But in the process of evolution which lies in front of us the great asset which the British race possesses is patience—joined to a certain gift of political wisdom and experience. We are not likely to agree on any wrong move, and without agreement we shall not move at all. Meanwhile it is a great thing that in days when the world is being brought so close together by the agencies of modern invention we are able to cultivate the feeling of nearness to the mother-land. I know how largely that feeling has developed during my twelve years' residence in Canada. There is more travel to the old country than there used to be from the Dominion, and we on the other hand are getting more visitors to Canada. It is no longer fashionable for Englishmen visiting the United States to leave the Dominion out in the cold—especially in summer: they know better now! And the more they come, the better they are pleased. A party of British journalists paid us a visit this fall on the invitation of the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and this is what the representative of the London "Times" wrote about his trip: "This seems to be the lesson of a visit to Canada—that it is a great, rich, and beautiful country, with several climates and many kinds of physical features, but with one spirit animating its people—

a spirit of deep attachment to Canada and of unswerving loyalty to the Empire of which it forms a part. There is work in Canada for those who cannot find work in the mother-country, and a welcome for all who will work and work hard. Finally, there is a desire among the best elements of the population to abolish the prevalent notion that those who come to Canada from the British Isles are thereby *expatriating* themselves; and to substitute for it the idea of the *larger patriotism which teaches that, wherever the British flag flies, and British Constitutional Government, British law and British liberty have sway, there is the true home of those who are the inheritors of these dearly won and priceless possessions.*"

Gentlemen, I am one of those who believe that whatever the ultimate verdict may be as to tariff reform, there can be no question of the national and imperial services rendered by Mr. Chamberlain in quickening the pulse of British patriotism and stimulating a more lively sense of unity and solidarity throughout the King's Dominions. He called on us not only to provide for our own security, but also to make ourselves a still more potent factor in preserving the peace of the world by doing all in our power to improve our communications, to develop our commercial relations, to co-operate in mutual defence, in short to *get together.*

And surely on this vast continent of North America there is room for this ideal, as well as the other to which, as permanent residents in the Great Republic, you have not unnaturally committed yourselves. We have no need to tie ourselves, or each other, down to the realization of only one form of political constitution, or the evolution of only one type of citizenship. In this connexion I am glad to echo the declaration of the distinguished Head of Harvard University, who said on a recent visit to Montreal that it was in the interest of both countries and of civilization at large that they should *not* unite their forces, but should continue as separate nations, seeking always in generous and friendly rivalry to find the best solution of the problems of free government. We are following after the same ideals, the ideals of liberty

and justice, peace everywhere, good-will to all, and the diffusion of a better and higher civilization throughout the world. Ties stronger than laws and constitutions can create and bind us to each other—community of race, language, literature, religion, commercial and social intercourse, and the glorious traditions of a common history. Here in Boston, where they may hear the sea calling to them, Americans are never likely to forget "whence the breath was blown that wafted them afar". Let Britain and America, Canada and the United States go forward together on their mighty mission, ever in the van of human progress, their only strife a rivalry in good works, an emulation to outstrip each other in the race for promoting whatever will tend to further the happiness, peace, and concord of mankind. We have been called the "recognized trustees of the world's advancement and civilization": let us continue to deserve the designation; let us prove ourselves to be always and forever

> a mighty brotherhood
> Linked by a jealous interchange of good.

CANADA AND THE NAVY.[1]

In my talks to Canadian clubs during the last few years, from Halifax to Winnipeg, I have had the opportunity of dealing with a considerable variety of topics. Those connected with education have been by no means neglected; for that is, after all, the natural rôle of a speaker who for over fourteen years has had the honour of holding a high place in one of our leading Universities. But it is sometimes a relief—for you as well as for me—to get away from education, and I have now and then digressed. I am going to digress to-day. The name of your Club invites it, and the surrounding circumstances are favourable. Besides, I consider it rather a misfortune than otherwise that our national Universities should be so largely divorced from the public life of Canada. Nowhere more than in these institutions are you likely to meet with an informed and cultivated opinion on questions of the day; and yet the expression of that opinion is too apt, under existing conditions, to be limited to academic clubs and coteries, with only a chance outlet for conveyance to the wider world. Canada is very far from being a "country of d——d Professors"; though the advance made by Germany in the period that has elapsed since Lord Palmerston employed that somewhat contemptuous characterization of the German people may well excite the envy of other nations, as well as stimulate them to a careful investigation of the basic causes of German prosperity and German progress.

When I have digressed in the direction of imperial issues, I have usually found it advisable to begin with an apology, or at least an explanation. For imperialism, to my mind, is largely a matter of definition. And in a general audience

[1] An address delivered before the Empire Club, Toronto, 3 February, 1910.

there are always some who consider it a hackneyed subject: to others it is even positively distasteful. No matter how carefully a speaker may explain that his idea of imperialism is simply an aspiration that the Empire may hold together in all coming time, he is always liable, in Canada, to have it pointed out to him that this aspiration may turn out to be incompatible with national aims and ideals. And so, speaking for myself, I always spell imperial and all its cognate words with a small "i"!

But to-day, and before this audience, I do not propose to offer any apology or explanation. The onward march of events, and the circumstances of the present moment, would seem to render it superfluous. In the year that has so lately closed, we have witnessed a marvellous growth of imperial sentiment—more restrained, perhaps, in its expression, but I venture to think no less definite and pronounced than that which was excited all over the Empire by the crisis of the South African War. And along with it is coming, for Canada as well as for the other over-sea Dominions, the realization of the truth that national growth is dependent on imperial security.

The debates in the British House of Commons during the spring of 1909 are memorable for the unanimity which prevailed as to the desirability of placing beyond the risk of challenge Britain's traditional supremacy at sea, and also for the discovery that Germany is now able to build ships as fast as England.

Then came the resolution which was unanimously adopted by our Parliament at Ottawa on 29 March, a resolution which seemed for the time, in its general terms, to unite all parties, though its translation into practice has produced much discord and division. For now we have the Government's Navy Bill, which is to be my principal topic to-day. No more important project, and none with such far-reaching consequences for Canada, has been submitted to Parliament during the period of my residence in the Dominion. By one who like myself has no very definite alignment, as I am always careful to state, with either side of politics, the emergence of

this issue may well be hailed as a factor of the greatest moment, transcending in vital interest for the whole community even the much-discussed subject of colonial preference and tariff reform. I have taken some pains to qualify myself to speak on this question. In addition to the careful and dispassionate study of Blue-books, speeches by experts, and leading articles, I paid a special visit to Ottawa on the day the Bill was introduced. There is nothing like getting to the heart of things when you want to make up your mind about a subject, and I derived a great deal of profit from my visit. I heard the speeches, and had some opportunity of studying also the temper of the House. I admired the evident wish of both the front benches to keep the question of naval defence as much as possible outside the sphere of party-politics. That is the admirable tradition which governs, or should govern, the attitude of all political sections to questions of foreign relations and such-like issues in the old country. Whether it can be realized in connexion with the Naval Service Bill depends very much on the rank and file of the House. There seemed to be a disposition (not unnatural on such cccasions, and noticeable also to some extent at football matches) for each side to confine its applause to the speakers of its own particular complexion. And next day it was easy to see that the newspaper press interpreted what had been said in the light of its political prejudices and prepossessions. For myself, I should like to be able to adopt the words of the London "Times," which said of the debate: "The speeches of the Prime Minister and of the Leader of the Opposition show that in this matter both parties in Canada are agreed. It is the Canadian nation who have given that momentous 'pledge to the world' of which Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke. They have spontaneously come forward to do their part in the defence of the Empire, and Mr. Borden has stated the motives from which they undertake this burden in words that could not be bettered. It is not, he finely said, so much a sense of duties or obligations which moves them as a sense of honour and of self-respect. That is the spirit in which we desire them to aid us, for we know that to free

peoples honour and self-respect are the strongest bond of all."

There are some simple-minded persons who seem to imagine that an exception is going to be made in favour of Canada to the rule that history repeats itself, and that the future tends to resemble the past. Canada, they say, has never been at war with any nation, and there seems no reason why she should look forward to possible hostilities anywhere. All men are, of course, in theory, on the side of peace. I doubt whether, outside of Germany, you will find anyone raising his voice in support of the thesis that war is a good thing in itself. But while it is permissible to live in the hope that a day will dawn when men will come to see the futility—and worse—of armaments, we must regard them in the meantime (to use Sir Wilfrid Laurier's figure) as being just as indispensable as policemen.

This is the explanation of the fact that for the year 1909-10 a Liberal Government in England spent nearly £36,000,000 sterling on the maintenance of the Navy. Of this only about half-a-million sterling, or less than 1½ per cent, came from outside the United Kingdom, £304,000 from Australia, £81,000 from South Africa, £105,000 out of Indian revenues, and £3,000 from Newfoundland. So far the name of Canada has not appeared in any list of contributors. And yet every one knows how well Canada can do at a time of real stress. That was proved in the South African War and it may be proved again. There is nothing like a real crisis for bringing out a nation's "grit". But it seems wise to ponder, in an interval of peace, such well-considered counsel as the following which I quote from the "Report of the Imperial Conference" (p. 36):—

"It is fully realized that in the hour of danger the ties of kinship and affection which bind the self-governing Dominions to the Empire will prompt them to rally with enthusiasm to its aid. There seems, however, some reason to fear that an idea prevails that this help may be organized at leisure after hostilities have broken out. In certain circumstances no doubt this might be the case, but the conditions of modern

warfare make it probable that great naval and military events will immediately follow, even if they do not precede, a declaration of war. If, therefore, organizations have to be improvised, staffs created, transport and equipment provided, and plans matured, after the outbreak of hostilities, the value of any assistance, however willingly and enthusiastically given, will be greatly lessened, even if such assistance be not altogether belated."

It is not enough, therefore, to say to the old country, as so many well-meaning persons do, "if you are really going to be in trouble, count on us to rally to your defence". Firstly, because in such a contingency we might arrive too late, and secondly because this is not really a case of "helping the old country": it would be only the part of wisdom, and indeed of self-interest, to plan carefully beforehand what we should be prepared to do "in the event of a war in defence of the Empire," to use a phrase which occurs more than once in the Blue-book already cited.

But signs are not wanting that Canada will no longer content herself with abstract professions of loyalty. The figures from the Navy Estimates already given were supplied by Sir William White in an address on "An Imperial Navy" given in London last November: and in view of the strange misuse by M. Henri Bourassa of the authority of his name, on a recent occasion in Montreal, it is almost a duty to quote Sir William White more fully:—

"At Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, at infant cities on the prairie—Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, and Moose-jaw; in conversations with statesmen, politicians, merchants, manufacturers, men of business, farmers, artisans, and voyageurs; amongst 'all sorts and conditions of men,' I have found an intelligent recognition of the principle that unquestioned command of the sea, uninterrupted intercourse with the mother-country, and free access for the products of Canada to the markets of the world, constitute conditions which are vital, not merely to the welfare of the Dominion, but to the continued existence of the British Empire. Everywhere eager interest has been displayed in regard to the adequacy

of the Royal Navy as it stands to-day for the efficient performance of the duties laid upon it; the maintenance of supremacy at sea, the protection of commerce and communications against probable or possible attack. It has been recognized generally by Canadians that, in future, the Navy must be regarded as the common possession of all parts of the Empire: that the immense outlay now required for the construction and maintenance of a supreme war-fleet ought no longer to be borne by the mother-country alone, but should be shared by the great self-governing Colonies."

It is presumably owing to the fact that arguments such as these have now permeated the whole imperial fabric that the Canadian Government has resolved to take action in the matter of naval defence. Let me say, to begin with, that for this they are worthy of all praise. The attitude at Ottawa now is a great advance upon the quite recent past. I need not remind you that in 1902 the Dominion Cabinet sent word to London that it would not be prepared to discuss imperial defence at the forthcoming Conference for the somewhat curious reason that no one scheme of defence could be devised that would suit the circumstances of each and all of our over-sea possessions! And in 1907 no further headway was made with the subject. To-day our rulers have done well to recognize the advance that has taken place in public sentiment. Perhaps the most notable incident in the recent debate at Ottawa was when, in answer to a question, the Premier of the Dominion used these words: "When Britain is at war, Canada is at war. There is no distinction. If Great Britain is at war with any nation, Canada becomes liable to invasion and Canada is at war." And there was fortunately no sign that Sir Wilfrid would wish it otherwise. I have a friend in Montreal who stoutly denies that any such entity as the British Empire exists, and I am engaged at present in commending the latest utterance of the Canadian Prime Minister to his careful consideration!

What then are the proposals which the Government at Ottawa is seeking to embody in an Act of the Legislature? For an outline of the circumstances in which the new policy

originated we must go back to the report of the last Imperial Conference. It was on 16 March, 1909, in connexion with the introduction of the Navy Estimates, that authoritative statements were made in the British House of Commons, by Mr. Asquith and by the First Lord of the Admiralty, as to the growing strength of foreign navies. On the 22nd of the same month New Zealand telegraphed an offer to bear the cost of the immediate construction of one Dreadnought, and of a second one later on if necessary. That was a good lead. It represents at least *seven* times as much, in proportion to population, as is proposed by Canada. It was followed by the resolution unanimously adopted at Ottawa on 29 March, recording approval of the "speedy organization of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with, and in close relation to, the Imperial Navy". In April the then Prime Minister of the Australian Government telegraphed that "whereas all the British Dominions ought to share in the burden of maintaining the permanent naval supremacy of the Empire, so far as Australia was concerned this object would be best attained by the encouragement of naval development in that country". A further telegram was sent by Mr. Deakin, the new Premier, on 4 June, offering an Australian Dreadnought, or such addition to the strength of the Imperial Navy as might be determined after consultation in London.

The Conference which resulted from these and similar communications met in London on 28 July. In addition to the offers already made—with a bias on the part of Australia towards a fleet of its own—it was intimated that the new Union Government of South Africa would take over the obligation to continue the existing contributions to the navy, which are paid by the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, while Newfoundland also indicated its readiness to maintain its present rate of subsidy.

The first thing to be noted about the matured and developed proposals now submitted by the Canadian Government is that they do not conform—as of course there was no necessity that they should—to the suggestion made at the outset of the proceedings by the British Admiralty. Looking merely

to the strategical question that confronted it, the Admiralty Board expressed its opinion in the following weighty terms (p. 23):—

"If the problem of imperial naval defence were considered merely as a problem of naval strategy, it would be found that the greatest output of strength for a given expenditure is obtained by the maintenance of a single navy with the concomitant unity of training and unity of command. In furtherance, then, of the simple strategical ideal, the maximum of power would be gained if all parts of the Empire contributed, according to their needs and resources, to the maintenance of the British Navy."

Failing that "counsel of perfection," which was considered on various grounds to be unrealizable in practice, and still with the idea of one navy comprising a number of fleets, all flying a common flag in each of the seven seas, it was suggested that Canada might furnish a self-contained unit, capable of offensive as well as defensive action, and so able to take its proper place in the organization of an imperial navy distributed strategically over the whole area of British interests.

It is suggestive and illuminating that the Admiralty obviously intended this Canadian fleet-unit to operate on the Pacific Coast. Students of history know that the Pacific is not unlikely, so far as naval warfare is concerned, to become ere long a great theatre of international developments. The story of the world can be told in terms of sea-power. The Ægean, the Mediterranean, the North Sea, the Atlantic—each of these connects with a cycle of events. In the future the Pacific will have its turn. And it is just in the Pacific that the sea-power of Britain is now a more or less negligible quantity. Half-a-dozen years ago, at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, it could have stood up against either Russia or Japan: to-day the Japanese Fleet is overwhelmingly superior. And yet the Japanese alliance is terminable in 1915. The old "China squadron" is gone—the chances are that it may be needed nearer home waters: but it could be replaced, with the help of Australia and New Zealand, if

Canada cared to assume responsibility for one "unit" of an Imperial Pacific Fleet.

As a matter of fact, the Canadian delegates at the Conference preferred one—the more expensive one, it is true—of two alternative and cheaper proposals that were put before them by the Admiralty. After intimating that the Fleet Unit on the Pacific would have to stand over for future consideration, they undertook to explain "*in what respect* they desired the advice of the Admiralty in regard to the measures of naval defence which might be considered consistent with the resolution adopted by the Canadian Parliament on 29 March, 1909". Here was a limitation! The Admiralty Board was asked to advise, not on the whole situation, but only on the points on which their advice was wanted. The practical outcome is the Naval Service Bill now before the Canadian Parliament. As already stated, it is good so far as it goes, though it does not amount to much more than a measure of coastal defence. Canada is being praised for what she has done, even by naval experts in England: but it is a question whether their commendation does not proceed to some extent from a feeling of gratification that Canada is at length doing *something!* There is nothing to make the blood tingle in the formula adopted by the Conference according to which our representatives signified their concurrence in the proposition "that each part of the Empire is willing to make its preparation on such lines as will enable it, *should it so desire*, to take its share in the general defence of the Empire". This phrase "should it so desire" occurs too often in the Blue-Book to suit the views of those who believe that our imperial security and the best method of maintaining it are the primary factors of the present international situation. "Should the Dominions desire to assist in the defence of the Empire in a real emergency." There is nothing in that to stir the blood like the sound of a trumpet! Why surely, if the British Empire has any real existence at all, there should be a desire to defend it on the part of all its component states. If you have something you don't want to lose, surely you will be ready and willing to stand up in defence of your rights!

Of course there are constitutional questions involved, and certain features of the Naval Service Bill mark a real advance, a step forward in the solution of these questions. The main difficulty has been the bogey of "taxation without representation". We are told that anything more than what is now being offered would be "inconsistent with the policy of Canadian autonomy". To me it has always appeared, in regard to this and similar issues, that the main consideration is or ought to be the following: Are we, or are we not, in partnership with the parent-state? If we are not, we can have all the autonomy that is insisted on by some: if we are, then our liberty and complete freedom of action must be to some extent limited and circumscribed by the very fact of the partnership. Business men will understand this. An individual who is in business for himself can have all the freedom that he wants. He is his own master, and does not need to consult with others in attending to his own interests. But when he forms a partnership of any kind, he limits *ipso facto* his individual freedom. We cannot have it both ways. If we are to remain in partnership with the other component states of the Empire, we cannot be so independent as we might be if we were not in partnership. It seems to me that the recognition of this simple truth would do a great deal to prevent misunderstanding and to clear the ground for future progress.

I do not wish to advance the argument that a permanent and unconditional contribution by Canada to the Imperial Navy would be better than what is being offered by the Dominion Government. There are many who would consider that to resemble too closely an annual tribute from a subject-state. And there is another objection which was well expressed in a recent number of the "Spectator," where it was said that the British tax-payer might incline to regard over-sea contributions to the navy as so much relief to his own pocket instead of a method of "making assurance doubly sure". Moreover, on any scheme of annual and permanent contribution, besides the risk of friction and controversy as to amount, the Dominions would forfeit the opportunity they

might otherwise enjoy of taking a reasonable interest in problems of naval defence. An intelligent opinion on such problems may now be looked for, which could not so easily be developed in any other way. And in the time to come—unless navies are to disappear along with other armaments—our total naval strength will be largely increased by such an extension of the shipbuilding resources of the Empire as Australia and Canada may ultimately be able to supply.

It should be noted, however, that these arguments do not apply to an initial contribution for a period of say three or four years. There is nothing resembling tribute about a voluntary offer, made under certain special circumstances, and revocable at the end of a stated period. Nor need such a temporary contribution be described as unconditional. We might retain control, by simply stipulating that at the close of the stated period value be receivable, up to a certain proportion of the gift, in the form of ships assignable to a Canadian fleet unit of the Imperial Navy. In the interval we could as a people be studying the whole question of naval defence and getting ready to build. Everybody knows that it will take us several years even to set up a ship-yard, and no one can say how long it may be before Canadian-built ships are ready for effective service.

The propriety of immediate action in the way of contribution for a stated period becomes all the more obvious when we consider the existing international situation. By the time the Canadian navy is ready, there may be no need for it. On the one hand, progress may have been made—under the stress of ruinous and suicidal competition—in the direction of general disarmament: on the other, something may have happened in the interval that may render the Empire a "back number". Britain is threatened to-day, for the first time in a hundred years, with a serious maritime collision. She has been threatened before now, in various ways, but has somehow won her way through it all. You all know the story of the crisis in South Africa, where for two years a sort of guerilla war was carried on, with very varying success. Victory inclined for a time now to one side, now to the

other. But at sea, and under modern conditions of naval warfare, it will be altogether different. Let a hostile power gain but one victory in a battle fought between capital ships in the North Sea, and our Canadian navy will no longer be of any use whatever.

I am no alarmist, and I have every reason for speaking with the greatest possible appreciation of what Germany has done for the world both before and since the consolidation of the German Empire. But we must face the facts, both as they are understood by experts, and as they may be apprehended by the common man. To me personally, it is one of the greatest puzzles of life that two reasonable human beings should be capable of taking entirely opposite views of the same set of facts. In Ottawa the other day we had, on the one hand, Mr. Borden's careful and guarded exposition of what I may call the "German peril"; on the other hand Mr. Monk told his audience that it had been manufactured, in March of last year, for political purposes, and that the whole "panic" was "more designed than people generally knew"! Mr. Monk has had an able seconder in Mr. Henri Bourassa, who tried later on to quote Sir William White in support of his view that by the attention she was giving to the German peril, Britain was "making herself ridiculous in the eyes of the world".

What are the facts? It was in the year 1900 that there was passed in the German Reichstag a Navy Law which has changed the whole situation as to sea-power among the nations of Europe. The preamble of the Bill has often been quoted, but not always in a correct translation. It is as follows:—

"Germany must have a fleet of such strength that, even for the mightiest Naval Power, a war with her (Germany) would involve such risks as to jeopardize its (England) own supremacy." There is a certain force and emphasis even in general resolutions, and it is a pleasure to set against the above the words of the Canadian deliverance of 29 March, 1909: "We recognize that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the safety of the colonies, to the greatness of

the Empire, and to the peace of the world". Here is a pretty quarrel as it stands!

But the German policy, steadily developed during recent years, and pushed even beyond the limits of what was announced in 1900, sufficiently accounts for the fact that even a Liberal Government in England, officered by men who were the colleagues of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, has found it necessary to spend as much as £36,000,000 last year on the Navy. Statesmen who love peace just as much as anyone in Canada have done this in the face of a crisis which some would have us believe has been invented without reason. And the student of recent history knows that this is not all. Germany has "held up" both France and Russia during recent years, and there is no saying whose turn it will be next. "It was her military preparedness" (I quote from the "Times" of 11 January the statement of a fact which was communicated to the French Chamber by M. Clemenceau himself in the course of a recent debate): "it was the military preparedness of Germany which enabled her in 1905 to secure the downfall of M. Delcassé and to impose the Algeciras Conference upon France, and again, last year, to impose upon Russia, with every profession of friendship, an extremely distasteful solution, to put it mildly, of the Servian difficulty." There is another fact that comes even nearer home to us. How would it have been if we had had to encounter Germany as well as the Boers in the South African War? I have known for some time past that English authorities regard it as an established fact that Germany would have taken the opportunity of intervening in that war if she had not had the British Navy to reckon with. The same statement is made now in Germany itself.

Take the book "Das Kranke England" ("Diseased England" or, like Turkey, if you please—"the Sick Man"), and what do you think of the following? (During the Boer War) "we stood immediately before the abyss of an Anglo-German war, and every sincere person must admit that the danger, then with difficulty averted, may return to-morrow and produce far worse consequences. The greater danger lies not

in honestly recognizing, but in hiding this truth." The author, Dr. Curt Abel-Musgrave, writes in the interests of peace, and as one who is friendly to England, but who would like to see her, for the sake of the Teutonic race as a whole, gird up her loins in the face of danger and prepare to repel strength by strength. His countrymen, he says, or at least their rulers, regard Germany as the "heir of a feeble England," and the moral of the past, according to him, is that Germany understands only strength, respects only strength, and that peace will be assured in Europe and in the world only when England is strong and efficient enough on land and sea to defend her own interests and liberties. Until then friendship between Germany and England—the goal of every honest friend of the two countries—must be idle and pernicious talk.

You often hear uncritical and irresponsible persons say: "What nonsense! Germany has not the slightest intention of attacking England." Perhaps not: but the future is apt to have a disagreeable way of resembling the past, and if any complication should develop itself in any part of the world Germany will now have the big ships, in addition to her army, that will enable her to speak to even more purpose than formerly. If England is prepared to take the German view of things, good and well: there will certainly be no attack in that event: but if not, England will have to be ready to face the consequences of her actions.

That eminent Berlin historian, Professor Hans Delbrück, has lately been explaining in the "Preussische Jahrbücher" that the great motive for Germany's recent activity in the matter of naval armaments has been her desire to exert a potent influence over England's foreign, and particularly her Eastern, policy. He has seen a vision of the whole earth becoming British within thirty years, unless there is a German fleet at hand! The dismemberment of Turkey is to lead to an English occupation of Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as Arabia, and an unbroken dominion from Alexandria to Calcutta in the East, and from Alexandria to Cape Town on the South. England has been the bully of the world, but

Germany will now keep her in check. The East is to be encouraged, says this Professor, "under German auspices, to seek the enjoyment of independence"!

Everybody knows what astounding progress Germany has been making in recent years. In the all-important matter of population she has now 63 millions of people, as against 45 millions in the United Kingdom, and a white population of 57 millions in the whole British Empire. No wonder that she feels the need of an outlet for her surplus people. It is not a question of hostility or friendship on the part of the great body of the German nation. For myself I like to believe that the great heart of that nation beats soundly, and is in the right place. But the bureaucracy of Berlin is not the German nation, and the experience of even the last few years shows that it is capable of doing a great deal, almost without discussion, in order to gain a desired end. It is significant that while political parties in the British House of Commons will wrangle over the spending of sixpence, the German Naval Estimates are adopted in the Reichstag almost without debate.

And what is our relative naval strength at present? I take the words of Mr. McKenna, the First Lord of the Admiralty in the Liberal Government (8 January, 1910): "At this moment Great Britain has seven Dreadnoughts in commission, Germany has two. . . . When Germany has nine in commission Great Britain will have fourteen, and when Germany has eleven in commission, Great Britain will have sixteen. When Germany has thirteen in commission, Great Britain will have twenty. This carries us up to 31 March, 1912." Moreover "in two years Britain will have sixteen Dreadnought docks as compared with Germany's nine". But let us supplement these somewhat cheering figures by Sir Edward Grey's admission that two years later Germany may have as many as twenty-three Dreadnoughts, while we do not know as yet the time in which we may have completed our new ships. Obviously the two-power standard will go by the board—and even the single standard may come to be in danger—unless the efforts of the old land to keep up in the

race are seconded and supplemented by voluntary offers on the part of the over-sea Dominions.

This then is the "German peril," which Mr. Bourassa lately told a Montreal audience had been invented by the Canadian Government for the purposes of their Naval Service Bill! I wish to speak with all respect of one whose undoubted honesty merits recognition at the hands of all sections of his fellow-citizens, and whose great gift of eloquence is likely to remain a factor in the public life of Canada. Mr. Bourassa deserved well of the whole Dominion by his recent efforts to promote the cause of good government in the city of Montreal. Moreover, he is going to be one of our national leaders, and he derives his present strength from the unanimity of those for whom he undertakes to speak. But in his recent address in the Monument National in Montreal, Mr. Bourassa really accomplished nothing but the expansion, during the long period of two and three-quarter hours, of the utterance which he once set down in cold print in the pages of the "Monthly Review". It was in October, 1902, that Mr. Bourassa penned this sentence: "the French-Canadian does not feel that he has any duty to perform to the Empire". This was the text from which he preached once again to his Montreal audience. He is not to be moved by sentiment, or even by interest. You may speak to him in vain of the financial loss which would result to Canada from any interference with, or interruption of, her ocean-borne trade, which now amounts to over 63 per cent of the whole. He will tell you, in reply, that it is mainly to protect her own commerce that England needs a navy! To most of us, on the other hand, it is obvious that, putting the matter on the lowest plane of material interests alone, some action on the part of Canada at the present time has become indispensable. If the ships of the Royal Navy happened to be detained elsewhere, four insignificant cruisers, operating each at a given point, could choke up our whole Atlantic trade. It may interest Mr. Bourassa to know that at a meeting of the Navy League held the other day at Kiel specific reference was made to the "exposed situation of Canada". No doubt there is the

Monroe doctrine, but if Mr. Bourassa is relying on that to save him in the hour of danger, ought we not to begin to think of offering a voluntary contribution to the navy of the United States?

Of course there are constitutional questions involved, and Mr. Bourassa is naturally prepared to make the most of them. He is much disturbed to find that, according to the provisions of Article XVIII of the Navy Bill, the Governor-General in Council may place the Canadian navy or any part thereof at the disposal of His Majesty for general service in the Imperial Navy, as well as all officers and men. This goes beyond the regulations of the Militia Act, under which the Government has no power to employ military forces outside their own territory. Mr. Bourassa no doubt fails to share the aspiration expressed in the report of the Imperial Conference, in which "it is hoped that it may be within the power of the self-governing Dominions so to organize their forces as not only to provide local defence, but also to be in a position to share to the extent of their will and resources in the defence of the Empire as a whole". Nor would he accept Mr. Haldane's comment, that "to organize local forces so that in a time of supreme emergency they may concentrate and act together as one army in any part of the Empire does not lessen but actually tends to increase the efficiency of these forces for the local defence of their homes". But naval warfare differs from war on land; and some persons seem not to realize that the best way to repel invasion is to get at the invader before he has time to reach your shores. He ought to recur to the study of history, or if he can't do better read the "University Magazine," where Mr. Hamilton remarked the other day, referring to the Napoleonic War, that "A series of battles fought at the mouth of the Nile and off the coast of Spain saved England from invasion, and protected the utmost confines of the far-flung British Empire. So in like manner, in some future war Canada may owe her safety to a victory in the Mediterranean, in the North Sea, or off the coast of Australia."

But apart from this conundrum, I think it may fairly be

argued that, according to his attitude in regard to such issues as these, you may judge whether a particular person has the independence of Canada in the back of his head or not. Some of our friends are very outspoken on this subject. A writer in the "Canadian Times" recently penned these words: "The founding of a separate fleet for Canada is breaking the last bond which united her with Britain. As the fledgling becomes stronger and can fly for itself, it leaves the old nest. So it will be with Canada. As she gains strength from the consciousness of power, as her people see the steam-leviathans plough the deep, carrying the Canadian flag and manned by sailors born and bred in the Dominion, a new era in the history of the world will have come. No one takes seriously the belief that a secession of Canada would inconvenience Britain. . . . The pretence that Canada is essential to Britain and Britain to Canada is farcical. It is only hampering Canadian legislation to consider such an effete factor." I am not sure that the production of this sort of stuff is not somewhat stimulated by the desire to say the same thing in different words from those which Mr. Bourassa uses.

On the other side of the question we ought to be able to get a clear declaration from all who are our friends; and as regards the integrity of the Empire it should be an axiom that all who are not for us are against us. Enough has been said by the half-hearted ones about the indefeasible privileges of self-government, and the need for asserting our individual and separate existence, also about the "truest imperialism being to build up our own portion of the Empire".

When the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman used to urge the Liberal party at home to attend to the problems that are crying for solution in the great centres of population, and not to trouble about what he called the outskirts of the Empire, he laid himself open to the Unionist retort that there might soon be no outskirts left. And so it is with us too. When some of our leaders tell us that we are free to do as we like, and that the best thing we can do is to go on building up Canada, it is time to point out that if each of the over-seas Dominions were to confine itself to this rather selfish and

short-sighted policy, all hope of strong and solid co-operation would be lost.

Our present and future relations with the old land and with the Empire at large are really, for all sections of our citizens, a topic of transcendent importance. Dr. Macphail wrote a fine paper the other day on the "Patience of England". If we want a paper on the "Generosity of England," I think, after reading his speech delivered here about a month ago, that we might well apply to the Hon. George E. Foster. The part of Mr. Foster's speech which I specially admired was that in which he reminded you that Canadian self-government, with all that it implies, was not wrested from unwilling masters, but was freely and ungrudgingly given, as the result of a definite policy pursued by the home authorities throughout the period of growth and adolescence. Some of our Quebec friends do not think we have much to thank Britain for. But is not the gift of half a continent something, to begin with? And have we not had for 150 years the free protection of the Army and Navy, and the full use of the consular and diplomatic service? Moreover who is it that has supplied Canada with the capital necessary for her development, preaching at the same time by practice the doctrine of commercial integrity and high business standards? I am told that in 1908 "out of total bond issues of more than $200,000,000 Canada sold 84 per cent in Great Britain". Is there no connexion between that fact and the flag that waves over the Dominion? Surely there is, though Mr. Bourassa may have failed to note it. So when he tells his hearers that if Britain is going to be in trouble now, it will serve her right and Canada needn't worry, let us see to it that our side of the story be told in no faltering accents—though always with the modest reserve that befits those who do not wish to boast.

The fact is that if we can get through the next quarter of a century with our imperial assets unharmed and unimpaired, we shall be able to snap our fingers at all envy, malice, and uncharitableness. The daughter-states, the new nations within the Empire, will by that time have grown up to their

full status. Listen again to the words of the Imperial Conference Blue-book: "It seems almost certain that if the United Kingdom, with the aid of her daughter nations, can successfully maintain her maritime position, if the Empire continues to increase in military strength proportionately to its growth in wealth and population, and if we can organize some comprehensive system of imperial strategy based upon the idea of mutual support by land and sea, the time cannot be far distant when we shall be practically unassailable". If we stand together, we shall be so powerful that even a combination of great nations would hesitate to attack us. This is the part of Sir William White's teaching that Mr. Bourassa seems to have altogether overlooked. Let me give it in Sir William White's own words ("Times," 18 Nov., 1909): "The full effect of the new departure and its future possibilities can only be made apparent by the speedy translation of the agreements reached at the Imperial Conference into the form of actual warships, manned by high-trained officers and crews, and made ready for service. Other countries will then realize that future competition for naval supremacy will involve a contest not merely with the resources of Great Britain but with those of the whole Empire, and the fact may well give them reason to pause. The sooner that fact is established the better it will be for the peace of the world and the welfare of the people in maritime countries upon whom expenditure on naval armaments has long pressed heavily, while the burden is becoming harder to bear as the years pass away."

That is the practical outcome of my argument to-day. I praise our Government for what it is proposing to do, all the more sincerely because, as resident in the Province of Quebec, I know something of the difficulties that have to be encountered there. What is proposed is good, but it is not adequate to present circumstances. Let Canada and the other over-sea Dominions take steps to show Germany that, if she will insist on building ships with the declared intention of rivalling British sea-power, she must reckon with the daughter-states of the Empire, as well as with the motherland.

Poets often see further than ordinary mortals, and have a way of putting things that remains in the memory. I am going to finish in Swinburne's words:—

So from England westward let the watchword fly,
So to England eastward let the seas reply;
Praise, honour, and love everlasting be sent on the wind's wings, westward and east,
That the pride of the past and the pride of the future may mingle as friends at feast,
And the sons of the lords of the world-wide seas be one till the world's life die.

THE TRUE IMPERIALISM.[1]

THERE are many among us who say that they dislike the word "imperial" and all its derivatives, because of its associations. They think that it implies subjection. Even in the sounding phrase "Dominions over-seas," they persuade themselves that they hear the rattle of chains and slavery. Purple is not their colour. Perhaps they know too much Latin, or too little. But in dealing with problems of empire it is not words that count. We must get down below the words to the realities that underlie them, to the facts as they are and to the conditions that we should like to see realized. We are face to face with a stage in our imperial history that will probably be recognized twenty years from now as having been the most important and the most critical in all our political development. What do we want to work for? What aims ought we to endeavour to carry out? If we are agreed in the main on what we want, we need not waste time over words.

We seem to be pretty fully agreed as to what we do not want. We have no wish to be annexed to the United States on the one hand, and on the other we have very little thought of trying to set up for ourselves. There remains therefore some form of what—with apologies for the insufficiency of language to express our great and glowing thoughts—we may call the imperial connexion. When we get to this point in the consideration of possible alternatives, some of us are inclined to call a halt, and to cry "Let well alone!" But it is becoming increasingly doubtful if that will end the matter. Unless we are content to drift and take chances, it is not clear that we can go on as we are. In Imperial Conferences

[1] "The University Magazine," December, 1910.

and such-like gatherings, matters of high policy are under adjustment which have an important bearing on our national status: even as regards Great Britain herself the whole political constitution, since the late King's death, has been and still is literally in the melting-pot. Now if we can't stand still, it is obvious that we must go forward: and the question at once arises, along what road?

Now that we have prevailed on the Englishman to abate his patronage of us poor "colonials," and to understand that he does not "own Canada," and that we are not to be treated like pawns on a chess-board, may we not turn to some of our own doughty champions and ask for a little more of the spirit of sweet reasonableness? Some of them harp on our mere colonial status, and our political semi-servitude, in a way that makes one incline to think they rather like having a grievance, and would be sorry to get redress. They speak of our subordination to a Parliament in London where we have no representation, though we may be pretty sure that if representation were offered to-morrow they would feel like running away from the offer. They profess to believe that the British ideal is one dominant state with a group of subordinate units clustered round it in deferential pose, instead of a free and equal alliance among partners. They will even look on the Union Jack as a badge of servitude. One of them is reported to have taken offence at the spectacle of the "Niobe" coming into port with the British flag flying at her mainmast, in spite of the fact that she is Canadian property. To ordinary persons surely that is the most reasonable thing in the world. The substitution of the letters H.M.C.S. for H.M.S. on the "Niobe's" flag might in themselves be made the text of a discourse. Are they not symbolical of that wonderful feature of the British constitution, so often eulogized by after-dinner orators, which has always enabled it to adapt itself progressively to the changing conditions to which it has to be applied? And why this constant differentiation between what is British and what is Canadian? "His Majesty's Canadian Ship"—surely that is good enough for most of us, including even those who say

they would like to have nothing except the golden link of the Crown to keep us together. Of course it will not suit the independents—including the young Canadian professor who recently disappeared from one of our Universities, and just when we were trying to get up some sympathy for him on the ground of the shocking treatment he said he had received from what he called the "British section" of the staff, had to admit, among other offences, that he had appended the following note to a student's essay: "I for one am not (willing to have a King in London): this is a democratic country".

There is a good deal of loose thinking about, and I am not sure that it is entirely on the side of those who were described in the last issue of the University Magazine as the "complacent souls who talk wisely of Canadian nationality and imperialism in the same sentence, nay, in the same breath". Why not? It is clearly understood, I think, among us all that no scheme of empire will be acceptable that fails to take account of national status. Of course I am aware that the real native-born Canadian is the truest type of all, but why is he rubbing it in so hard? What ails him at "British"? Are we not all in the business together? When I am told that it is the British nationality that is to be exalted by imperialism, that Canadians cannot be imperial unless they bow the knee to British ascendency, and that no man can belong to both the Canadian and the British nationalities at the same time, I feel that there must be a verbal juggle somewhere.

The Quebec problem may be left out of account for the present. If it is merely a question of words, let me oppose to what I am quoting Mr. Kipling's well-known phrase, the "new nations within the Empire". Is there anything wrong with that? Or if we want to have it put more explicitly, let us take what Mr. Balfour said to the Imperial Press Conference (10 June, 1909): "Remember that no statesmen have ever had before them the task with lies before the statesmen of Great Britain and the self-governing colonies. No other Empire has ever been based upon the foundation upon which ours is and must be based—namely, the common action of

different members, none of them subordinate, all of them equal, but in their very equality ready to co-operate for a single object. No political theorist has ever contemplated, so far as I know, that problem in the past. It has never been accomplished or begun to be accomplished at any period of the world's history. It is our business to see that this great experiment shall in our hands succeed."

These words might be paralleled from the utterances of more than one political leader on the other side of the Atlantic. They are alive over there to the importance of the issue that has to be faced. And it will not be their fault if the need for some new formula is not clearly put to the partner nations. The British genius for political organization has not exhausted itself yet. Look at what has been accomplished in South Africa. The constitution of the South African Union was drawn up and agreed to by the contracting parties after earnest consideration had been given by experienced and practical men to the important question of the functions of government,—what should be reserved to the central authority, and what entrusted to local legislatures? The working of the system, in the face of great difficulties, one of which is the existence of a huge native population, will continue to be watched with the greatest interest. Our empire problem is of course a different one, but perhaps something may be learned in regard to it even from this South African Union. At the least it is encouraging—so encouraging that it was not long, I think, after its consummation that a Canadian speaker before the British Empire Club in London (Mr. Willison of Toronto) seemed ready boldly to face the problem of instituting an Imperial Council, containing representatives from Canada and the other British Dominions. "In that way," he is reported to have said, "Great Britain might gain strength from overseas; in that way the colonies might gain wisdom and prudence and steadiness from contact with world affairs, and from common responsibility for the dignity, the power, and the security of our great imperial commonwealth."

In the meantime the great thing is to go on cherishing in

our hearts and developing, where it is wanting, the sentiment of community of interest. Political experiments do not thrive in uncongenial soil. And we must be thankful for considerable progress made in the past. If we are sometimes inclined to think that things might go faster, let us have patience. Canada's attitude to the various Imperial Conferences, for instance, has never been quite so enthusiastic as some of us would have liked to see. But recent events in Quebec have shed a lurid light on the difficulties by which Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues must have felt genuinely embarrassed. Even in the west the Premier received a petition praying that nothing more be done about the navy "at least" till such time as Canada had representation. I liked those little words, "at least". It seemed as if they might mean "or for a good long time after". That is what they mean in Quebec, though the Nationalist (Provincialist?) leader protests that he will accept the verdict of the whole Canadian people, even if in the end it should pronounce against him. Quebec is ready to shed the last drop of its blood in defence of Crown and Empire *in Canada*, but it is not interested in what might happen to either outside its borders! This reminds one of how one of our Cabinet Ministers at Ottawa deprecated the addition of any Canadian ships to the imperial navy if they were liable to be taken away to the other side of the globe and never seen again! The world is bigger now than it was then, but were such battles as those of the Nile and Trafalgar Bay fought within sight of British shores?

We are told by those who may be called the "little Canadians" that our first, probably our only duty, to the Empire is to go on building up our own country, developing its harbours and canals, improving its transportation system, strengthening its defences and making ourselves responsible for its general administration. The awkward feature of the present political situation is that what has been advocated in this way by certain ministers at Ottawa is exactly what has carried Mr. Bourassa to victory at the polls. But is this really a generous attitude to the troubles and perplexities of the country that has made a free gift to Canadians, to be

dealt with as they might see fit, of what she won for them on the North American continent? And even as a matter of business, is it altogether safe to assume that national growth is assured for Canada, quite apart from the element of imperial security?

Political education along such lines as these is nowhere more indispensable than in the province of Quebec. Making all possible allowance for the strong colouring of excited rhetoricians, it is obvious that the sectionalism that is now rampant in our midst derives its strength mainly from misrepresentation and ignorance. Both these factors are at work when, for instance, a speaker asks his audience why England should expect ships and service from Canada any more than France from Belgium, or why the English-Canadian should want to do anything for England that the French-Canadian would refuse to do for France. Since the Athabasca election Mr. Bourassa has protested too much. It was he who, writing in the "Monthly Review" for October, 1902, said that "the French-Canadian does not feel that he has any duty to perform to the Empire"; and in the interval he has been doing his very best to strengthen this sentiment in the hearts of his compatriots. In the contest which has just been ended it availed the Laurier Government little or nothing that its head has always been careful to say he is "not an imperialist". Mr. Bourassa managed to mix the Premier up in the minds of the electors with the imaginary persons who are supposed to have been plotting to tear the youth of Quebec from their mother's arms and make them food for cannon. His formula of "taxation without representation" is another bogey that must be made to stand and deliver. It is like the "republic *versus* monarchy" view that did us so much harm in the United States and elsewhere, at the outbreak of the South African War. When people had time to think, and to learn the facts, they became aware that it was not a case of kingship against democracy, but a case of oligarchy against constitutional rule. Unless we are to adopt the referendum as a regular instrument of government, the next general election will be the time to pronounce a verdict on the

naval policy of the Cabinet. As things are, this policy cannot be spoken of as a hole-and-corner affair, carried out without reference to the people's representatives. It is the final outcome of Imperial Conferences held in London, in which the Dominion Government took a voluntary part. The situation as regards imperial defence was fully disclosed to them, and various alternatives were carefully discussed. On returning to Ottawa, the Canadian delegates reported to the Cabinet and to Parliament, and the Navy Law is the result. One does not need to be a partisan supporter of that Law to hold that within the practice of the constitution, the representatives of the people have been consulted, and that the formula of taxation without representation does not as yet apply.

At the same time it must be admitted that behind all current political discussion the Navy Law looms large, and that it is likely it will hold the field till the next general election. And behind the Navy Law is what is called the German peril. Here it does not suffice to say, in words which I regret to say I once heard a distinguished Canadian use in addressing one of our Canadian Clubs: "Germany? What is Germany to us? Why, we could dump Germany down in one of our big lakes, and you would hardly see a ripple." That sort of talk does not meet the situation. Who can say what the future has in store for us? I am not one of those who believe that Germany is deliberately preparing to attack England, that is to say the Empire. But I say that she is strengthening her position at sea so as to be able to deal with any situation that may develop. On land she has within recent years held up both France and Russia, not by declaring war, but by pointing to the big stick. And Canadians must not deceive themselves any more than Australians. The next great war, if there is to be one, which Heaven forfend! will place the whole Empire in jeopardy, not Great Britain alone. It will be what is always referred to, very significantly, I think, in all the blue-books relating to the Imperial Conference, as a "war in defence of the Empire".

So let Canadians put out of their heads the idea that what they are asked to do is to "help the old country". The issue is a larger one than that. Our own welfare is bound up with the continued existence of the British Empire. The existing situation was accurately described the other day by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, in the course of a lecture given at Birmingham University: "So long as this country could maintain undisputed command of the sea, it was possible to wait in case of need for the aid of the over-seas dominions, but recent events had shown, what was pointed out by Sir Michael Hicks Beach in 1904, that this country ought not to be called upon to attempt to provide from its own resources for the naval defence of the whole Empire, and that in a great naval war there might be no time to call up the ultimate or potential reserves of men and money from all corners of the earth". If anything were to happen to the British flag elsewhere, the Nationalists of Quebec would not need to make good their generous promise that they will shed their last drop of blood in defending it *on the North American continent*. What they need to learn is that the Empire cannot be run on the principle of limited liability. We are trying to develop in Canada a truer sense of nationalism than it is possible for any one section of our people by itself to cultivate. But national consciousness is not everything, unless it be accompanied by the sense of national responsibility. Our obvious duty at present as a nation, and our interest too, is not to cherish separate interests and to go on insisting only on our separate rights. We must co-operate in all the great interests of the Empire, the chiefest of which is, of course, the preservation of peace. No one of us is worthy of our imperial heritage if we persist in looking to ourselves alone.

Expression has been given by more than one writer and speaker in recent years to the wish that we may produce in time a man, or a body of men, who will do for the Empire what Alexander Hamilton did for the United States, when after the War of Independence he induced them to sink their differences and join hands in the effort to work out a common constitution. Hamilton's latest biographer, Mr. Frederick S.

Oliver of London, whom many of us in Canada are proud to claim as a friend, closes his fascinating volume in words with which I may very fitly conclude my present argument: "The meaning of Empire to a free people is not a stunting and overshadowing growth but a proud and willing subordination. Its aim is the security of a great inheritance, and while it will augment the resources and the power of every member of the union, it will also touch each separate state and private citizen with a firmer courage and a finer dignity."

If the great problem of imperial unity is the reconciliation of the spirit of nationality with the idea of a United Empire, that is the line along which we ought to look for a solution.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.[1]

With the publication of the Minutes of its Proceedings, supplemented by the issue of the Naval and Military Agreements more recently arrived at between the Home Government and the Dominions, it ought to be possible for impartial students of empire politics to gain a clear idea of what has actually been accomplished by the Sixth Imperial (*née* Colonial) Conference, held in London from 23 May to 20 June. For such a purpose it is well to stand apart from the extreme views of party politicians. The "don't talk to me of empire" school may plume itself on its belief that "imperialism is dead," but when one finds, on the other hand, an ultra-imperialistic Premier like Sir Joseph Ward assuring the National Liberal Club that the Conference just concluded "has done a great deal more than all previous Conferences put together," one does not feel quite like weeping over an open grave.

For over twenty-five years we have been engaged in discussing the organization of the Empire, and it would indeed be strange if no progress at all could be recorded. The old ideal was that there should be as little formal connexion as possible between her colonies and the motherland, and theorists looked complacently forward to the time when the former would drop off like ripe fruit from the parent stem. But the logic of events has been too strong for them. Partly drawn, no doubt, by the attractions of Jubilees and Coronations, the children have been glad to gather from time to time round the family hearth, and they were never less minded than they are to-day to cut the connexion and set up in business for themselves. They have "got the habit" of

[1] The "University Magazine," October, 1911.

coming together, and of trying to formulate their common interests as well as to recognize, at the same time, their joint responsibilities. Some people have been afraid of going too far in the direction of imperial unity. On the British side the perversity of party politics still leads a certain school, which need not here be defined or designated, to look for every sign of the process known as "hiving off," in order that they may turn round triumphantly and say "I told you so!" On the other hand every one knows the strength of the feeling for autonomy in the Dominions. But if you will only substitute the phrase "voluntary co-operation" for "unity" or "concentration," and make as sparing a use as possible of the word "imperial," it is astonishing what results may be obtained in both quarters. There are, of course, some who will not allow you to speak of "empire" or "imperial" matters, unless you are using these words to designate a hotel or an exhibition. But the fact remains that, whereas in former days all that the Colonies had to do was to attend to their own local affairs and behave themselves properly, they are now of their own accord and free will entering the sphere of imperial interests—notably those of defence and foreign policy. The Naval and Military Agreements, just published as a most important addendum to the Minutes of the Conference, are the answer to the statement that the Dominions overseas "refuse to enter into any closer bonds of formal union, either for military, political, or commercial purposes" ("The Nation," 17 June, 1911). These epoch-making contracts help further to emphasize the fact that, apart from the change from "Colonial" to "Imperial" Conference, the meetings periodically held in London go forward now for the discussion of questions of common interest no longer as between "the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Colonies," but as between "His Majesty's Government and His Governments beyond the Seas".

The most favourable omen that heralded the assembling of the Conference may be said to have been the non-party memorial signed by some 300 members of the British House

of Commons, and presented to Mr. Asquith towards the end of April. The intention of this memorial was to urge that practical steps should now be taken, possibly by the establishment of a "representative council of an advisory character, in touch with public opinion throughout the Empire," to bring the over-seas Dominions into closer contact with the management of those imperial affairs which are at present mainly in the care of the Mother Country, though they affect the Empire as a whole. In the speeches made in support of the memorial may be found anticipations of proposals made at the Conference itself, including at the one extreme an Imperial Council with an executive controlling the affairs of the Empire and, at the other, a non-elective Commission which could serve as a link between the quadrennial Conferences, and help to prepare and digest the material to be submitted for consideration. The important point to note is that it was the expressed wish of this variously composed delegation to keep matters affecting imperial unity outside the domain of party politics, and also that its members seem to have realized the essential difficulty of the whole problem —how to reconcile any such forward step with the autonomy of the self-governing Dominions. In undertaking to bring before the Imperial Conference a petition which he admitted was "more variously supported than any he could remember having seen in the course of his career," the British Premier sagely reminded the deputation that nothing of a practical nature could be done without the fullest concurrence and consent of the over-seas Dominions themselves.

If the 300 British M.P.'s of every sort of political complexion may be said to have anticipated the proceedings of the Conference, they were themselves anticipated by one of the Dominion Premiers. Before leaving Sydney, about the middle of March, Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, made a speech—apparently unheralded and unpremeditated—in which he undertook individually to settle the whole question of the organization of the Empire. Starting from the need for systematic co-operation for defence, he proposed to constitute an Imperial Parliament, to which

should be committed all questions involving defence, along with kindred subjects such as foreign policy, foreign treaties and international agreements. There was to be an Imperial House of Representatives, returned upon a basis of population, and an Imperial Senate, to which each portion of the Empire would elect an equal number of members: the resulting Parliament to be strictly limited to imperial questions, and to have the power of determining the contributions required for defence from each Dominion represented. This scheme would have the further advantage, he thought, not only of relieving an already overburdened House of Commons, but of securing concurrently internal autonomy and Home Rule for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

How did the Conference, when it assembled, deal with these and such-like suggestions? Both Lord Salisbury in 1887 and Mr. Chamberlain in 1902 had put the need for co-operation in defence alongside of the need for an improved political organization such as would enable the Empire to act together as a unit in foreign affairs, and the desirability of better commercial relations. But when it came to the suggestion of an Advisory Council, the Colonial Premiers would give no countenance to a body which would obviously derogate in theory from their position as heads of responsible governments, and which might be found to be in practice distinctly embarrassing. The same story was repeated in 1911. For while much was accomplished in the way of co-operation for imperial defence, the suggestions for improved methods of political union resulted in practically nothing.

It is obvious from the record that the leading part in rejecting the somewhat crude and immature proposals for constitutional changes made at the Conference was taken by the Canadian Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His attitude from first to last has been one of vigilant and vigorous assertion of Canadian autonomy and ministerial responsibility. In 1897 he joined with others in recording his opinion that "the present political relations between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies are generally satisfactory under the existing condition of things". In 1902 he was the only

Colonial Premier who refused to accept the principle of increasing the defensive strength of the Empire by contributing to the cost of the British Navy, either in cash or by the establishment of "local naval defences" in consultation with the Admiralty. Though his scruples seem more recently to have been somewhat overborne, it is important to recall the fact that he was not willing that even in time of war the local naval forces of the Dominion should come under the general direction of the Admiralty. It is probable that to Sir Wilfrid Laurier the possibility of war was for a long time unthinkable. His well-loved native land was—in Sir Wilfrid's thoughts and imaginings—to enjoy an experience that would be unique in history, that of growing up beyond the reach of aggression from any quarter whatever. When we are summing up the results of the Conference, in the light of the Naval and Military Agreements already referred to, we should not omit to note that as recently as last year (29th Nov., 1910) Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared in Parliament that "under present circumstances it is not advisable for Canada to mix in the armaments of the Empire". His formula of voluntary co-operation is so much respected in London that official draughtsmen never fail to include in their documents such phrases as "should any of the Dominions desire to assist in the defence of the Empire at a time of real danger". Even in the latest Agreements it will be found that the wording is carefully chosen to guard against the possibly unwarranted assumption that any part of the Empire would "desire" to take its share in general defence.

With such a record behind him, it must have been obvious that the Canadian Premier would not be at all likely to fall in with the views of Sir Joseph Ward. Sir Wilfrid had gone to the Conference "with very few suggestions to make," and in the spirit, no doubt, of one who desired to maintain the *status quo*. So when the Premier of New Zealand came on with his proposals for an Imperial Council of State advisory to the Imperial Government, Sir Wilfrid would have none of it. In very trenchant language he pointed out that "what Sir Joseph Ward proposed was not an advisory

Council, but a legislative body elected by the people of the United Kingdom and the Dominions beyond the Seas with power to create expenditure, but no responsibility for providing the necessary revenue to meet that expenditure. Such a system was indefensible. The body might say that five, ten, or twenty million pounds were necessary, so much for each of the different portions of the Empire, and then the respective Governments would be dumb agents in carrying out the decision. They would simply have to provide the money asked for. Such a proposal he thought was absolutely impracticable."

The commanding influence wielded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Conference may be estimated from the fact that it was in deference to objections made by him that a much more modest proposal put forward by the Home Government was also withdrawn. In order to bridge over the intervals between the meetings of the Conference itself, Mr. Harcourt proposed to set up a Standing Committee, without either executive or legislative functions, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, the Permanent Under-Secretary, the High Commissioner or other Representative of the Dominions, and a Representative of Newfoundland. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, however, stated that "he would view with serious apprehension the interference of anybody whatever between the Home Government and the Governments of the Dominions. He adhered to the position he took up four years ago, that the relations between the Dominions and the Mother Country should be carried on by themselves. The organization of the Colonial office had given ample satisfaction, and he thought they should leave matters as they were at present." In spite of support from some of the other members of the Conference, Mr. Harcourt intimated that he would not proceed farther with his proposal. The Conference is therefore left without any Standing Committee to prepare business in the intervals between its meetings, and to put things in proper form for discussion. This is one of the points to which Mr. Lyttelton, a former Colonial Secretary, referred to in the House of Commons

when he spoke of certain important proposals as having been "asphyxiated in an atmosphere of bland inaction". Let us hope that the next Conference may not have a repetition of this year's experience, when in response to a long-neglected dispatch asking for suggestions for the agenda paper, our own Dominion Government sent in the end a reply to the effect that it had nothing of sufficient importance to put forward but would join in discussing any points raised by other governments.

The need of a better organization within the Conference itself is illustrated in the discussion which took place over the Declaration of London. Members had evidently forgotten the resolution passed in 1902, "That, so far as may be consistent with the confidential negotiations of treaties with foreign powers, the views of the Colonies affected should be obtained, in order that they may be in a better position to give adhesion to such treaties". Otherwise they might have shown more surprise when the Canadian Premier stated his view that "it was a very far-reaching proposition that the Dominions should be consulted in regard to treaties negotiated by the Home Government. . . . If a Dominion insisted on being consulted in regard to matters which might result in war, that would imply the necessity that they should take part in the war." The English newspaper press seized on this pronouncement as an indication of the approaching dissolution of the British Empire! It was argued that it is not open to any of the Dominions to regard itself as a part of the Empire merely when it suited its convenience. "Either it flies the British flag or it does not. There is no middle course. To make war in common and peace in common is the ordinary undertaking of any two Powers which enter into an offensive and defensive alliance. It must be manifest that imperial partnership can have no stability if based upon a weaker sense of mutual obligation than that which binds two allied peoples, however remote their systems and their race." In the general chorus of disapproval which followed the Canadian Premier's utterance, statesmen like Lord Selborne, and jurists like Sir Frederick

Pollock took an active part. Referring more directly to South Africa, the former stated the somewhat obvious truth that "there is only one way in which any part of the British Empire can make sure of remaining neutral when the British Empire is at war, and that is by severing its connexion with the British Empire in time of peace". In a legal deliverance on "neutrality," Sir Frederick Pollock said: "The law of nations knows nothing of an International unit, whatever its internal constitution may be, making war and peace in sections". In Canada, Mr. R. L. Borden did not fail to improve the situation. He protested against the idea that Canadians would "desire to enjoy the prestige and advantage of the British connexion and the protection of the British flag until trouble comes, and then to reserve the right to remain neutral," and poured ridicule on the suggestion that, while in peace we should be part of the Empire, in war we should "find both honour and safety in a happy neutrality, which will permit our forces to maintain a glorious inactivity while our flag is fired upon by armed foes".

The Canadian Premier had in all probability nothing more in his mind than the formula of "voluntary co-operation," and the need for observing the procedure prescribed to the Parliament of the Dominion before any overt act of war is committed. He was simply giving its full interpretation to the little phrase "should it so desire," which has been incorporated, as already stated, in all the documents that govern and regulate the partnership of each of the Dominions with the Motherland. Messrs. Monk and Bourassa—and the Province of Quebec generally—would not have liked to see that little phrase left out! An attempt was made, however, to indicate that South Africa and Canada had common interests in pressing the point, and that General Botha would be found to be in full agreement with the attitude taken up by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This turned out to be a misconception. General Botha is a soldier, and knows too much. No doubt he fully realizes the significance of the words used by Lord Selborne: "If South Africa lost command of the sea, either by the destruction of the naval

power of the Empire or because South Africa had separated from the Empire, South Africans would no longer have it in their power to develop their South African nationality as entirely free men and without external interference ". General Botha knows that South Africa has no Monroe Doctrine to help it out at a pinch! It was quite natural therefore that, in spite of certain articles in the "Volkstem," his friends should have at once protested against the attribution of any "neutrality" views to the South African Premier, while he himself, on his return to London from the Continent, repudiated such views categorically and without any reservation.[1]

So far as imperial defence is concerned the great advances made by the recent Conference will best be understood from a study of the new Naval and Military Agreements. The tenor of these documents, now that they have been given to the public, seems fully to justify what Mr. Asquith said to the Conference, by way of forecast, in his closing speech: "Our discussions, conducted also, and necessarily, under the same veil of confidence in regard to co-operation for naval and military purposes, have resulted, I think, in a most satisfactory agreement, which, while it recognizes our common obligations at the same time acknowledges with equal clearness that these obligations must be performed in the different parts of the empire in accordance with the requirements of local opinion and local need and local circumstances". Take the naval agreement. Every one knows what the command of the seas means for our widespread Empire. Henceforward in time of war the navy is to be kept for strategic purposes one and indivisible, and even in time of peace, with uniformity of discipline, and arrangements for the interchange of officers and men, the advantages of unification will to a great extent be secured. For the sixteenth clause of the Naval Memorandum runs as follows: "In time of war,

[1] "General Botha does not agree with the 'Volkstem' article, and considers that for South Africa or any other Dominion to be neutral, while the Mother Country is at war, is an impossibility. There can be no question of optional neutrality."—*Reuter's Agency.*

when the naval service of a Dominion, or any part thereof, has been put at the disposal of the Imperial Government by the Dominion authorities, the ships will form an integral part of the British Fleet, and will remain under the control of the British Admiralty during the continuance of war". Under such conditions, the old theory of local defence will, with the consent of the Dominions, be abandoned, and we shall hear no more of the "iniquity" of proposing that Canadian battleships shall go away across the ocean,—never perhaps to be seen again!

The next thing is to get the battleships. The change which has been brought about is probably due to the information given to the Colonial Premiers in the joint sittings with the Imperial Defence Committee. What was put before them must naturally be only a matter of speculation, but the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, announced shortly after the Conference adjourned, is a step which the Home Government is not likely to have taken without first securing the appreciative assent of the Dominions. Probably a great deal more was put forward that would help to show the essential inter-connexion of foreign policy and defence. And no doubt the spirit which animated the deliberations held at these joint-sessions, with the assistance and advice of the expert members of the Committee of Imperial Defence, was that which the Prime Minister of England described in the speech with which he prefaced the proceedings of the Conference: "Everywhere and throughout, the object is not aggression, but the maintenance of peace, and the insurance against loss and destruction of the vast social and material interests of which we are the trustees. It is in the highest degree desirable that we should take advantage of your presence here to take stock together of the possible risks and dangers to which we are or may be in common exposed; and to weigh carefully the adequacy, and the reciprocal adaptiveness, of the contributions we are respectively making to provide against them."

As to commercial relations, it will not be expected—especially in view of the great Reciprocity issue now before

the country in the Dominion elections—that in the pages of this magazine more than a passing allusion should be made to the action of the Canadian Premier in securing from the Conference a resolution drafted with the object of enabling any of the Dominions which may so desire to withdraw from the operation of a (commercial) treaty without impairing the treaty for the rest of the Empire. Though no previous notice seems to have been given of this motion, it obtained a very general assent, and was accepted by the Home Government as inevitable, in all the circumstances. Whether it will make for "closer union," as Sir Wilfrid Laurier argued, or for disintegration, remains to be seen. In another resolution, equally unexpected, but probably the result of conference with the Home Government, Sir Wilfrid Laurier asked for, and obtained, the appointment of a Commission which is to visit all the Dominions and to collect all possible information that may be of use in stimulating and developing trade co-operation. It is expressly stipulated, however—and the point was much insisted on by the Secretary of State—that it is not to be in the power of this Commission to make recommendations as to the fiscal policy of the Dominions or of the Mother Country. In regard to such policy the United Kingdom and the several Dominions are, and must remain, as Mr. Asquith said, "each master in its own house, and every self-governing State in the Empire must pursue such a fiscal policy as in the opinion of the majority of its citizens is for the time being best suited to the requirements and conditions of their own country".

Aside from these grave issues, it is almost superfluous to chronicle the fact that the Sixth Imperial Conference, in the course of its sessions, occupied itself with the discussion of other matters of "common interest" to the Governments concerned. Among these may be mentioned the Imperial Court of Appeal, naturalization, emigration, improvement of cable, wireless, and steamship communication, labour exchanges, Indian immigration, uniformity in the laws relating to trade-marks, and patents, copyrights, etc. These and such-like subjects were found to be admirably suited for dis-

cussion on the basis of the co-operative principle. And effective action as to some of them is likely to be taken at once—as, for example, the matter of judicial appeals, where the changes about to be introduced are largely the result of Lord Haldane's broad statesmanship and wide judicial experience. But in importance none of these issues can compare with imperial defence and foreign relations. Within a few weeks of the adjournment of the Conference we had the spectacle of a European continental power "trying it on" to see how far it would be allowed to go. And so far as we can forecast the future, the same thing is likely to happen again. On this occasion considerable effect was produced in the various Chancelleries by the firm utterances of the English Prime Minister, backed as he was not only by the Leader of the Opposition but also by a representative of the Labour Party. Perhaps the day may come when the Colonial Premiers too, speaking for the great democracies they represent, will have the opportunity of ranging themselves alongside of the officers of the Home Government at such a time of stress. Then would the British Empire speak with one voice, and the peace of the world would be secure. Meanwhile, instead of shouting that "imperialism is dead," let us rejoice that the Conference held this summer was able to do so much to strengthen the relations between the Dominions and the Mother Country, and in Mr. Asquith's words to "make the Empire in all its activities, and throughout all its parts a more complete and effective instrument for the furtherance of our corporate unity and strength". We have now had twenty-five years of discussion: in the next twenty-five we may again have to realize the meaning of the ancient motto, "United we stand, divided we fall".

DOMINION AND EMPIRE.[1]

When I invented the title of this address I was quite pleased with it. It sounded grand; and moreover there was a time when it would have seemed possible to keep the subject outside the sphere of party politics. That is more difficult now. Personally, I am much more interested in the imperial problem than in any party issue. And if what I have to say seems to reflect on one of the two great parties in the state, my audience must be asked to believe that I shall feel myself quite free to deal with the other with equal frankness if occasion should arise. I make no secret of my regret for the untoward turn which events have recently taken. I had thought it would be possible to reconcile the policy of the Government in regard to a temporary gift with the main features of the Laurier Act, when the time should come to enter on procedure involving a permanent policy for the Dominion in regard to naval affairs. But now the proposed gift has been robbed of all its graciousness. The person I am most sorry for now is the poor Englishman, who is more bewildered than ever as to what Canada really means. He is crying out in an agonized sort of way, and asking whether it would not be possible for Canada to do something as a united country. It was with a wry face that the Englishman had swallowed the phrase used at the Imperial Conference of 1911, which reappears in all the Blue Books on the subject: "Should any of the Dominions desire to assist in the defence of the Empire at a time of real danger". That, we told him, was an indispensable concession to our "autonomy,"—almost as blessed a word as "Mesopotamia" was to the pious old

[1] An address delivered before the Canadian Club, Smith's Falls, Ontario, 24 April, 1913.

woman. Up to that time he had imagined that the Empire would be well worth fighting for, but now he is told in so many words that the Dominions must be allowed to take their decision at each succeeding crisis, never beforehand.

Now, is there anyone in Canada who really and in his heart believes that the timely gift which Mr. Borden's government proposes has any principle underlying it that offers a menace to Canadian self-government? Is it not obvious that the idea of "danger to our autonomy" is one that has been suggested by the exigencies of political partizanship? It is not so long ago, is it, since a great Canadian statesman said to England "Call us to your councils": and is it possible that this is the same statesman who has lately been crying out "We don't want to be consulted, for that would imply responsibility"? Surely it won't do just to go on singing "God Save the King," and make eloquent perorations in after-dinner speeches, while leaving the main burden of responsibility in difficult matters to the "chief partner of the family". As for "Rule, Britannia," that is a categorical imperative that we Canadians have no right to utter! Nor will it do for party politicians to try to make out that Britain will take our ships or our money, and give us nothing in return. That argument was disposed of in advance by Mr. Asquith's speech in the House of Commons last July, and by the arrangements for the Imperial Committee of Defence. Moreover the ships are not to be given outright, but are subject to recall and can be made returnable, if desired, in the shape of smaller vessels more adapted when the time comes to the purposes, say, of a fleet unit on the Pacific coast. The time, however, for that is not yet. When the peril in the North Sea has been dispelled by the exhibition of unchallengeable superiority, and by the moral effect which the co-operation of the Dominions will secure, it will be soon enough to think of the Pacific coast. Meanwhile a great responsibility is taken by those who flout the recommendations of the British Admiralty. It is recorded that one of our politicians at Ottawa read extracts from the American Declaration of Independence on the

receipt of Mr. Churchill's letter. He might just as well have repeated the Ten Commandments,—which, by the way, a perfervid orator once referred to in my hearing at a University gathering in the United States, along with the Declaration of Independence and the Sermon on the Mount, as the three fundamental documents in human history!

One point gained is that both political parties are now committed to doing something. The Nationalists of Quebec alone remain, along with those who keep saying that Canada owes nothing to England. Fortunately these last do not seem to be very numerous. There would be a certain obvious want of magnanimity if many Canadians were to join in the cry that nothing the old country ever does is right. And the British Foreign Office, whose masterly control of affairs under Sir Edward Grey is winning the admiration of the world, hardly needs to be exhorted and moralized by a group of "little Canadians," as happened recently in Toronto.

It is not the case that our political association with the United Kingdom is a danger to the Dominion. Canadians ought to have sufficient insight to see, and enough generosity to acknowledge, as in fact they mostly do, that this is the very opposite of the truth. And the phrase which is so often used in the Blue Books, "A war in defence of the Empire," should remind them that in any emergency that may overtake us it is not "to help the old country" that they are summoned, but, as I have often said, to show whether they want to remain part of a going concern. We may find a certain ground of confidence and security—may we not?—in the obvious fact that of all the world-powers Britain is conspicuously the one which does not want anything from anybody. Canada is not likely to be embroiled by any ill-considered policy of imperial aggrandizement.

I have thought it frank to say just so much by way of introduction to the address I am about to give. My own belief about Canada is, as I have often said before, that her national growth is largely dependent on imperial security.

Now let us go back to the words that form the subject of my address, "Dominion and Empire". The problem is how

to combine local freedom with imperial unity. Is there anything really irreconcilable between the two, or any sane theory of what is called imperialism? Depend upon it, if we want to, we shall find a way. If the question is only one of method, there will of course be ample room for discussion, and even for difference of opinion. But the aspiration for unity must be there to begin with. And we must get out of our heads the notion that imperialism necessarily means militarism, and entanglements, and a permanent condition of what has been stigmatized as "British overlordship and colonial inferiority".

Our Dominion is rightly regarded as the keystone of the imperial arch. It is needless to rehearse all the evidence of her great and growing material prosperity. We own a vast territory in which there has literally been given to us "dominion from sea to sea". We have immense resources, with an unexplored area more than ten times that of the United Kingdom. It is more important for us to give heed to the reproach that was lately made against us by Mr. Harold Begbie: the training and culture of our people need more and more attention, and the development of their moral spirit and tone and fibre. And some of us need to cherish broader views of our relations with the rest of the Empire. Canada holds the strategic position of the future between the Atlantic and the Pacific, with great highways to the ends of the earth. A mighty future lies before us. As Lord Grey said at the Guildhall, when they gave him the freedom of London on his return to England: "Canadians are not only conscious that it is in their power, they are also determined to fulfil the inspiring rôle of their splendid destiny": and again, "The day is approaching when Canadians will be ready, as self-governing subjects of the Crown, to assume the full status of partners in the responsibilities and obligations as well as in the privileges of Empire". The problem still remains, however, and cannot too soon be undertaken of "how to combine the unimpaired enjoyment of autonomous rights by each self-governing portion of the Empire in its own local affairs with the duty of sharing the

burdens and the privilege of taking part in the deliberation of matters common to the whole".

Who gave us the country as a free gift—no doubt after learning the bitter lesson taught to her in the American Revolution? And not only so, but it is not too much to say that the necessary condition of the success we have had in building up the Dominion has been the "moral and practical support given us by the imperial connexion". The sheltering arm of Great Britain has been ever around and about us while we were moulding into an organic whole the various scattered communities that now make up our Canadian nationality, binding distant territories by a great transcontinental railway system, developing water transportation along the Great Lakes, fostering immigration, founding industries and manufactures, in the face of geographical difficulties, and on lines that seemed to lay themselves out to oppose the natural channels of trade. Yet for all that, we sometimes hear a certain type of politician saying that "we owe nothing to England"!

Fortunately the heart of our Canadian people is sound at the core, though we have our work before us in assimilating the somewhat heterogeneous elements that are finding their way to our shores. It would be a crime to indoctrinate them with the idea that the imperial connexion means jingoism and the beating of the big drum. Malevolent critics tell us that our empire is something on which we have stumbled by accident, and that if there has been any settled design or policy about it at all it has merely been the selfish wish to extend trade relations. And now that these have been successfully established, they go on to say, the next stage of the game is for the mother-country to demand naval and military aid from her over-seas possessions. Surely that is not the spirit that will help us to remember that we are all parts of one whole. Just look at the other side of the picture. Think of the responsibilities and the opportunities of an empire comprising upwards of four hundred millions of human beings divided by every degree of race, colour, language, religion, and stage of civilization. There should be no temptation to

jingoism here—to shouting and flag-waving. Rather the thought inclines one, as Lord Milner said, to "go into a corner to pray". What chaos would result from the destruction of our imperial fabric! It would be nothing short of a world-wide convulsion, and one that would rob us of many precious privileges and opportunities, such as the task of training up towards self-government millions of the more backward races at present entrusted to our rule.

Set against these reflections the utterances of some little Canadians who seem to me to have a positive ill-will at the very thought of the British Empire. According to them it simply does not exist, and if it does Canada is no part of it in reality. I think they would even like to take the map, and paint all the constituent countries of the Empire in different colours, just to show they really do not belong together. To them the very word "Empire" necessarily implies domination on the one hand and subordination on the other, and they would accordingly restrict its use to the "aggregate of subject territories" ruled by the Colonial Office. In their eyes nothing that has ever been done for the Empire has been rightly done, and things are always going from bad to worse. The Boer war, the Japanese treaty, our dealings with Germany—all these are glaring examples of British bungling, and Canada's only safety lies in keeping out of the mess.

It is a curious anomaly that these same theorists are often heard to speak glibly of what they love to call the "golden link of the Crown". And yet in the same breath they will boggle at the use of the word "subject" instead of "citizen". Are not all citizens subjects? Even in the Great Republic they are "subject" to their constitution. And when the Crown appears in Canada in the shape of a Royal Governor, these critics suspend their judgment: at least some of them do, others speak out at once the thought that is in them. Their declared ideal for the future of the Empire is that of a group of "Associated Kingdoms" under the sovereignty of the Crown—so long as the Crown will undertake to remain overseas in England! This is the system by which they

hope to remedy the "defects of the existing colonial status," which is said to "deter the growth of true Canadian patriotism and encourage a servile Colonial loyalty that can never be consistent with colonial self-respect".

But is the golden link of the Crown likely to be binding enough in all coming time? It sometimes looks as though the advocates of this plan would not mind in the least if it should snap some day: then they would have the real independence which even now might seem to be their goal. The scheme of subjection to the Crown while independent of any Imperial Parliament reminds one of what Goldwin Smith said of Samuel Adams, and his attitude in the struggle for American independence: "his Puritan conscience must have felt a twinge when, in the very time at which he had devoted himself body and soul to breaking the link that bound America to England, he was coining for this and that body phrases full of reverence for the King and rejecting the thought of independence". To quote to us England and Scotland before the Union, or England and Hanover when these two countries were united under one Crown, is, as it seems to me, to read history backwards. Lord Milner puts an appropriate question in this connexion when he asks "whether it would be a desirable result that the United Kingdom and Canada should, while remaining subject to one King, become in all other respects separate countries pursuing independent and perhaps jarring policies, represented by different Ambassadors working independently of one another, and possibly against one another; countries which in any international complication might or might not find themselves on opposite sides, which in the extreme case of war might or might not stand together"? In the face of world-conditions as we see them to-day it is vain to imagine that the King's head on our postage stamps, and the presence of a Governor-General, would be a sufficient recognition of common interests.

Then there is Mr. Bourassa, of whom I desire to speak with the utmost respect, but about whom I cherish the hope, inspired by his own explicit undertaking, that when he comes to recognize that the verdict of the Canadian people is against

him he will cease from troubling. He is quite right, of course, to remind us that the insular traditions of the English people cannot be allowed to govern the complex problem now in front of us. But he is wrong, as it seems to me, when he preaches the doctrine that the French-Canadian owes no duty to the British Empire. That is a topic to which I shall revert when I come to speak of the urgency of imperial defence: meanwhile let me repeat the words of Prof. Cappon, referring to the French-Canadian in general: "It is even possible that when he comes to recognize the fact that only in a widespread imperial system is there any assured future for local traditions and detached racial fragments, he will support it with enthusiasm. Continentalism, as it is called, tends inevitably to a different and opposed ideal, that of uniformity, homogeneity, and centralization."

The Nationalist ideal contains, of course, some elements of which account must be taken. There can be no doubt that the Nationalist leaders have helped to make it clear that imperial unity is as likely to take the form of alliance as of federation. It "cannot be inspired," says Mr. Cahan, "by the idea of a common nationality: it cannot consist of an organic political federation of different nationalities, or of widely scattered states: it must, in fact, resemble more closely an alliance of independent nationalities for the joint direction and protection of their collective interests: the objects and organization of such an alliance must be such as to satisfy nationalities jealous of their present political autonomy and independence in the administration of their internal affairs".

But the best way of securing a solid basis for such a system will be frankly to recognize the fact that nations which form alliances—even non-permanent alliances between two foreign countries—voluntarily agree to limit and circumscribe their separate and individual freedom in respect of the matters that are made the subject of contract.[1] Even in the busi-

[1] "As to the amount of concession with respect to foreign and external affairs, arrangements regarding imperial defence or tariffs which the imperial system might imply, I do not see that these involve more surrender of freedom of action

ness world, as I have pointed out elsewhere, partners are not so free and unhampered as are individuals. It is necessary to insist on this point for the reason that we Canadians are not bad bargainers, and in matters like the present those whose voices are raised most loudly seem very anxious, if I may say so, to make the best of both worlds,—the best of our remote geographical situation on the one hand, and of our connexion with the mother-land on the other. Enough has been said to show that a Canada outside the Empire would have her work cut out for her. When she began to exercise a detached diplomacy, she would find things very different from what they are at present. Certainly the terms of any new arrangement will have to be very carefully scrutinized; but can it be doubted that if they are drawn so as to secure joint alliance and co-operation against foreign aggression on the one hand, and on the other so as to facilitate the solution of inter-imperial problems, and the utilization of the incomparable forces which we have at command for the advancement of the peace, prosperity, and progress of mankind,—can it be doubted, I ask, that if the right spirit is within the organization, the mechanism will work of itself?

I am one of those who incline to think that Canada has till now not been unduly forward, to say the least of it, in this important matter of inter-imperial adjustment. The attitude taken by the Laurier administration at successive Imperial Conferences is too well-known to call for anything beyond a mere reference. The cry of "Call us to your councils," was practically accompanied by the statement that "If you do, we may not want to go: we are happy as we are, and are quite content to leave the main burden of responsibility in difficult matters to the chief partner of the family".

This attitude on the part of Canada has been to a great extent acquiesced in, and even reciprocated by the present British Government, and Mr. Asquith's statement at the last

than is implied in any alliances or tariff arrangements which all nations in the condition of the world find it necessary to make" (Prof. Cappon).

Conference that the responsibility of his Cabinet for foreign relations cannot be shared by others, was seized upon for a time as putting an end to all hopes of improved inter-imperial relations. But what else could one rightly expect under existing conditions? To me the most significant evidence of the attitude of the Dominions, accepted by the British authorities, is the introduction of the words "should it so desire" into several documents that have recently emerged from the deliberations of more than one Imperial Conference—"should the Dominions desire to assist in the defence of the Empire in a real emergency". Voluntary co-operation is, of course, to be the note of the future, and no one has suggested that there has been, up till now, any legal or constitutional obligation on the part of the Dominions. But as Prof. Leacock has said you will want to have something better in the future than "a so-called Canadian navy loanable at will by the Cabinet and Parliament of Canada, on exactly the same terms as those on which the Brazilian navy might be put at the service of the British Government". As to the suggestion of neutrality, or at least the possibility of refusal to co-operate in a really big war, that involved the disruption of the imperial tie, and had a good deal, in my judgment, to do with the result of the Canadian elections last September.

It is not settled yet that our Empire is fated to go the way of all those that have preceded it in history. Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, all have had their day and ceased to be. Is it not interesting to reflect, in view of existing conditions among the nations, that the story of the world can be told in terms of sea-power? The Ægean, the Mediterranean, the North Sea, the Atlantic, each of these connects with a cycle of events. In the future the Pacific will have its turn. Australia has a population of only 4,500,000, though it is practically as large as Canada and larger than the United States. Within a week's sail of that island-continent are 400,000,000 of Chinese. Japan has 300 men to every 640 acres, whereas Australia can only number one man and a half! Canada one man and a five-sixth. In the great awakening of the East, let these peoples lift up their

eyes and see that there are these rich and fertile territories, unprotected from aggression; what will the sequel be? The voice of Britain has been powerful in the world till now because of her Navy. Unfortunately, it is just in the Pacific that her sea-power is at the present moment a more or less negligible quantity. It may be part of Canada's mission in the coming time, in concert with other Dominions, to assume responsibility for one unit of an Imperial Pacific Fleet, and by so doing she would effectively remind Oriental and other nations of the existence of the "United States of the British Empire".

It is this urgent question of imperial defence that has brought to the front the problem of such a political reconstruction as shall enable the "new nations within the Empire" to go forward hand-in-hand with the Motherland for the attainment of common aims. If the Empire is to take a fresh departure, and to endure as a political organism, we must address ourselves to the need for a constructive policy. The British instinct for political organization has stood us in good stead, in spite of some blundering in the past; and it is not going to fail us now. Some method must be found for giving outward expression to the underlying unity of interest and sentiment. The naval issue is the touchstone by which our spirit is to be tested. We have been harping long enough on our separate rights, our autonomy, and our practical independence, while at the same time we have plumed and prided ourselves overmuch on the privileges of Empire. It is time now to take more thought than we have done of the corresponding obligations and responsibilities.

There should be little difficulty in accepting the fundamental principles on which at a lecture given before the Royal Colonial Institute (14 November, 1911) Dr. Parkin said that our democratic imperialism is founded—principles for which in my judgment the support of every patriotic British subject may fairly be claimed. They can be outlined, he said, in a few sentences:—

"What were the fundamental principles on which our democracy and, he believed, true imperialism were founded?

They were these: (1) That the permanent and effective union of the various British communities scattered throughout the world was a vital necessity to the highest ultimate welfare of each and all, and should therefore be the first aim of all national statesmanship; (2) that each self-governing community should be permitted free development in regard to all matters which concerned itself alone, while providing for united action in matters of common interest; (3) that the heavy burden of protecting the commerce of the whole Empire, hitherto borne entirely by the United Kingdom, should gradually be shared by the Dominions and Colonies, and that each should provide at least adequate means of defence for its own part of the national system; and (4) that some means should be devised by which all units of the Empire contributing should have in the council of the nation and the control of the expenditure such a proportionate voice as would justify the contribution under the recognized principles of representative Government."

It is this matter of defence mentioned in the third section of what has just been quoted, that I want to say a word or two about before I close. There are those who take the view that the best way of serving the Empire is to look after ourselves. They affect to believe that the coast defences of Canada are of more importance than a naval victory on the high seas, forgetting all the lessons of history, and how it was at the mouth of the Nile and in Trafalgar Bay that England was saved from invasion—just as in time to come Canada may owe her security to a victory in the North Sea or off the coast of Australia. It is in this spirit that Mr. Bourassa tries to make the most of the Memorandum of 1896 which contains these words (Par. 19): "The development of their own vast territories in time of peace, and the effective protection of them in time of war, is undoubtedly the best contribution the colonies can offer to imperial defence". Founding on this he puts the question triumphantly in 1912: "Can there be a more explicit acknowledgment of the principle invariably propounded by the Nationalists, to the great scandal of imperialist doctrinaires and hypocritical

politicians, that the primary duty of the colonies is to look after their own defence?" All went well with us, Mr. Bourassa holds, so long as we acted on that principle—up to, in fact, what he calls the "nefarious days of the South African War". And so it was that in the Drummond-Athabaska election he and his friends put it on record that they considered "as contrary to the principle of Canadian autonomy and to the real unity of the Empire any policy tending to impose upon Canada, that has no voice in the government of the Empire, any share in the external responsibilities or in the military defence of the Empire, outside of Canadian territory, the only portion of the Empire upon which the Canadian people may exercise any political or constitutional action".

But let us set against the statement made in general terms as far back as 1896 the much more weighty deliverance uttered by the British Admiralty, in the face of conditions of actual and concrete difficulty, at the Imperial Conference of 1909. "If the problem of imperial defence were considered merely as a problem of naval strategy, it would be found that the greatest output of strength for a given expenditure is obtained by the maintenance of a single navy with the concomitant unity of training and unity of command. In furtherance, then, of the simple strategical ideal, the maximum of power would be gained, if all parts of the Empire contributed, according to their needs and resources, to the maintenance of the British Navy."

I know too well the extent of prejudice which may easily be excited against the mere suggestion of such a "contribution" on the part of Canada. But there may be reasons why the Borden administration has done well to go back, provisionally at least and for a limited period, to that suggestion. It may look like "tribute," and "taxation without representation," and other bogeys and bugbears which have till now kept us from doing anything at all, to speak of, in the way of recognizing our unquestioned responsibilities. But there is nothing that would have so strong a moral effect as this in quarters that may be threatening mischief to the fabric of our

Empire. I am not insensible of the advantages that would accrue from the policy of a Canadian-built navy. But so far as we have had any opportunity of judging this would take time, and time is an essential element in the proposition now before us. It may well be that there is at least one foreign power that would hear with satisfaction that in these days of ruthless and regrettable competition Britain was to have no material assistance from her over-seas dominions. On the other hand, there is the obvious fact that if with such assistance Britain and the Empire at large can be enabled to weather any storm that may be brewing, our future is secure. After we have weathered such a storm, we shall be able in comparative security to take up the policy of fleet-units, should they be required, for each of the several Dominions or for more than one conjointly. And in the interval the ships built with our money could be understood to belong to us, and to be repayable after a certain term of years, either in money or in kind, to the contributing Dominion, less depreciation!

It is a favourite method with those who are out-and-out opponents of such a policy to make out that the so-called "German scare" is groundless,—a panic, in fact, "manufactured for party purposes," and altogether unworthy of the people which has so long enjoyed the unchallenged and unchallengeable dominion of the seas. That is not how the matter presents itself to careful students of world-conditions at the present moment. Only a short time ago Mr. Bourassa gave it as his opinion that by the attention she was giving to the "groundless" German peril, Britain was "making herself ridiculous in the eyes of the world". I have a great respect for Germany, and freely concede that much of her soreness against England may be due to the fact that on the other side of the North Sea they have shown an inadequate appreciation of all the wonderful progress Germany has made in the last forty or fifty years. But German ways are not as our ways, and it may be doubted whether if the offer had been frankly made Britain would have done well to stand in with Germany and agree to rule the rest of the world between them. As things are to-day it must be obvious from the

course of recent events, and from certain documents published with German sanction, that Germany is bent on a definite effort to secure for herself the leadership and the headship of the nations.[1] It is all very well to boast that you have kept the peace; but what if it can be proved that you have known how to get all you wanted by merely rattling your sabre? Germany has in recent years "held up" both France and Russia, the former in 1905, in connexion with matters that issued in the Algeciras Conference, the latter in 1909, in order to effect a settlement of the difficulties in the Balkans. And even when we were asking whose turn it would be next came the Morocco imbroglio.

It is a fact of history now that nothing but British intervention—quiet and restrained, but none the less effective—prevented Germany from imposing her will on France. In the words of a well-known publicist it reduced her striking efficiency by about 50 per cent. But Britain will have to pay the penalty. Her traditional policy of having an ally on the Continent, chosen from the states that are in danger of falling under the heel of a stronger rival, is gall and wormwood to Germany. And so it would appear that—perhaps after strengthening her army to a point that would make French resistance futile—Germany will increase her naval efficiency to an extent that will justify her in seeking to oppose Great Britain. It is highly significant that the Liberal Government now in power in London some years ago formally notified the world that if Germany persisted in her intention of increasing her Navy Programme, Britain would feel compelled to build two keels to one. Otherwise she offered to take a rest from shipbuilding for a year, if Germany would do the same. And in the interest of peace she was willing—though to her the fleet is everything—to let the Two-Power Standard go, and be content with a margin of 60 per cent superiority over the next strongest European maritime nation. This ought to have put her right in the eyes of our little Canadians, one of whom was

[1] The terrible drama which is now (August, 1914) beginning to unfold itself in Europe forms a striking justification of the above statement.

good enough to tell me once that he considered the Two-Power Standard as nothing but an impertinence in the altered condition of the world to-day.

Do we on this side of the Atlantic fully appreciate what all this means? We are apt to regard and to speak of the British Navy as all-powerful and invincible, just as in my boyhood we were taught to believe that one Britisher could easily dispose of three Frenchmen. And some of us are mean enough, as it seems to me, to say that if it is not, its relative strength as compared with possible opponents is no affair of ours. Thus Mr. Cahan: "Any weakening (of England's navy) would be fatal to Great Britain, though it might not necessarily prove fatal to colonies which are protected by adequate coast defences. . . . If every British Colony should separate from the Empire, England would need not one man, nor one gun, not one ship less." And Mr. Ewart, who says he is one of the "No-navy men," quotes with apparent approval the view that "in British wars—wars in which Canada will have no direct interest . . . the obligation to protect the trade routes would rest upon the United Kingdom; and that whether or not that obligation is acknowledged, her necessities would compel her to protect wheat ships, whether they sailed from Canada or Argentina!" The argument seems to me as contemptible as that other argument, viz. that Canada should rely on the Monroe Doctrine and the protection of the United States for defence against any foreign aggression. Is this all the return we have to make for all the privileges and advantages of our imperial connexion, commercial, financial, administrative, and diplomatic, together with the protection of the British flag?

The attitude of Mr. Borden's cabinet, which is shortly to be discussed in the Senate, gives promise of better things than we have been accustomed to of late. We have been made to say to England, "If you want our aid call us to your councils," though I fancy there are still some little Canadians who would not want to go if they were called. And as Professor Leacock puts it, in dealing with the argument

that we cannot act until we get representation, "People with 150 years of back-taxes still to pay need not talk of taxation without representation". In response to our message England is understood to say, "If you wish to enter our councils give us your aid". So there the puzzle stands. It is Mr. Bourassa's opportunity. "If Canada contributed in any form whatsoever to the general defence of the Empire, what authority will she exert on the Government of the Empire, on its foreign policy, and in the general control of its fleet and army?" Why even in England these things are not controlled by the man in the street. But it is none the less a fact, as stated so grandiloquently by Mr. Bourassa, that in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, as at present constituted, "the people of Canada, although they will have lent or given their sailors, ships, and cannons or their money contributions, in order to increase the naval forces of the Empire, shall not count one single representative, they shall be debarred from expressing in any manner, shape, or form, their approval or their condemnation of the war in which they will have shared, of the policy through which that war will have been prepared and subsequently settled"!

But still there is hope. For Mr. Bourassa solemnly undertakes that if the statesmen and people of Great Britain will unite to show him how they propose to divide the exercise of imperial authority as well as the burden of imperial defence, how India and the Crown Colonies and protectorates are to be dealt with in the joint-partnership, how our "untouched autonomy" is to be preserved on any scheme of imperial unity, he will get all Canadians—to do what? Why, to "give an attentive hearing to all arguments that may be brought forward, whether in support of or in opposition to those magnificent projects"! ("Imperial Problems," March, 1912).

Truly a splendid offer, especially at such a time of perplexity as the present: and one I am sure to the consideration of which any potentially hostile power like Germany would like us to devote all our energies for an indefinite period! Certainly do not let us, as Mr. Bourassa says, "rush head-

long into a policy of participation in the general naval defence of the Empire," but do not on the other hand let us believe him when he says that till now England has wished to reserve this as her own task, "to be performed under the exclusive responsibility and undivided control of her own government". Why, the most important feature of the Imperial Conference of 1911 was the secret session in which the British Foreign Secretary is understood to have unfolded to the Dominion Ministers the whole policy of the British Government in regard to the urgent matter of imperial defence. I hope there is nothing in the rules to prevent Sir Wilfred Laurier handing on to his successor in office the knowledge which he thus obtained under seal of confidence. Perhaps Mr. Borden will be able to make a better use of it. If on the other hand the late Government still keeps these diplomatic secrets locked up within its breast, the sooner we have another Imperial Conference the better for all concerned!

It is of course a serious proposition to draw up a new constitution for the British Empire, and it often seems to me that it is precisely those politicians who do not want one, or who would welcome the failure of any effort to get one, because failure would lead to the independence they seem to have at heart,—it is just these persons, I repeat, who make so much of the alleged "obvious unwillingness of the Government of the United Kingdom to admit the Governments of the Dominions beyond the seas to share in the responsibility of advising the Sovereign in matters of external policy, including the negotiation of political treaties, the declaration of war, and the conclusion of terms of peace, in refusing, in fact, to share with them the responsibility of advising the Sovereign in all matters relating to the foreign policy of the Empire" (Cahan). Surely it would be about as unjust to accept as final that description of the attitude of the old country as it would have been to take Sir Wilfrid Laurier's arguments at the late Conference as truly representative of Canadian opinion. Why, Sir Wilfrid actually and openly objected to consultation on matters of foreign

policy, lest by consultation the Dominions should share the responsibility.

It is an undoubted fact that we are getting at present all the advantages of the *Pax Britannica*, though we have refrained so far from making the offer of free co-operation in the event of a great war. We want to go on arguing about it, while Britain is left to carry the overwhelming burden of imperial defence. I see more than I want to of the kind of Canadian who is always asking what will happen if England undertakes a war of which Canada cannot approve! We ought to let the hundredth chance alone, and think rather of the ninety-and-nine!

It is through our inevitable connexion with important world-issues that our Canadian patriotism will be made intelligent and comprehensive as well as fervent and strong. This is the true imperialism, the spirit that would remind us that we are all parts of one whole, just as anti-imperialism is the spirit that would lead us to forget it. It was in this spirit that the fathers of confederation did their work, in spite of recent argument that what they aimed at was the creation of separate kingdoms, each claiming equality with the other, and connected only by the golden link of the Crown. "To see Canada, Australia and South Africa," says Joseph Pope, the biographer of Sir John A. Macdonald, "united by ties of loyalty and material interest, ranged round the mother country as a protection and a defence, to see the dear land of England secure and prosperous and strong, ruling in every quarter of the globe, mistress of the seas, with the waves rolling about her feet, happy in her children and her children blessed in her, such was the dearest wish both of Macdonald and Brown, as well as of those associated with them in the great work of laying the foundations of this Dominion." And Lord Grey, in accepting the freedom of London, took occasion to point out how indispensable to each other the Dominions and the United Kingdom must ever continue to be. On the one hand, the old country may not be able to go on for ever alone and unaided, while on the other the Dominions "cannot hope to develop the strength

of their free and aspiring nationalities except under the sheltering protection of the British flag". The United Empire "represents an ideal of high import for the future of civilization, the attempt to assemble in a higher unity even than that of nationality the forces which maintain and advance the white man's ideals of civilization, his sense of justice, his constitutional freedom, his respect for law and order, his humanity" (Professor Cappon).

Let us unite to cherish their ideal, one of the noblest and most inspiring that could be put before so considerable a part of mankind as the Empire undoubtedly represents. Let us merge—so far as may be possible—all our different interests, and combat the prevailing spirit of indifference and ignorance, critical and questioning aloofness. Let us enlarge our political perspective, and not shrink from any new responsibilities that may come therewith into view. I close by quoting a passage from one of Lord Milner's published addresses, in which he set the danger of our weakness as isolated states against our enormous strength and security as united states, and hoped that this feeling would continually grow and "that throughout the Empire there would be a constant accession to the number of those who regard it as the first and highest of all political duties to seize every opportunity of multiplying the links which bind them together, and of fostering and developing all the forces, material and moral, which make for the maintenance of a common citizenship and for the strength of a United Empire".

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MR. BORDEN'S NAVAL POLICY.[1]

PRINCIPAL PETERSON of McGill University, Montreal, addressed the Club on Saturday night on the subject "Empire and Dominion". He said it was important for every one concerned, throughout the whole British Empire, to take note of the fact that during the last few months they had been making history up at Ottawa, through the long-continued debate on the Navy Bill.[2] It marked another stage in the line of advance that had been begun by Canada, as the first of the "new nations within the Empire," at the time of the South African War. The imperial problem—how to combine local freedom with imperial unity—was a continuous and a growing problem, and from the clash of contending parties under Borden and Laurier England could learn much, while the other overseas Dominions of the Empire ought also to be deeply interested spectators of the combat.

Under existing conditions a resident in the British Isles contributes five or six times as much as a Canadian for naval and military defence. Mr. Borden had begun by proposing that Canada should put up $35,000,000 to pay for the construction of three first-class battleships, to form part of the Imperial Navy. In doing so he expressly stated that this was not to be taken as a permanent policy: it was only a temporary measure, called for by the urgency of the international situation. Much of the trouble at Ottawa has come from the fact that Mr. Borden's political opponents, in spite of his express disclaimer, have insisted on treating his proposal as though it were a permanent policy. They have invoked against it all the prejudices that may be made so easily on this

[1] Summary of an address delivered before the British Public Schools and Universities Club, New York, 24 May, 1913.

[2] "It is questionable whether it (the Imperial Parliament) has ever attempted, on any occasion since the debates which preceded the American War of Independence, to enter so thoroughly and earnestly as the Canadian Parliament is now doing into the political meaning of the bond between the mother country and its daughter communities" ("The Times," 5 May, 1913).

continent to centre round "taxation without representation," or even "tribute". Some of them seemed to think they had a right to expect that a brand-new constitution for the whole Empire should be devised and adopted before there could be any justification for voting a single dollar for such a purpose.

Throughout the debate in Parliament the attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been the key to the whole situation. He too had passed a Navy Bill, but he went out of office without taking any final steps to give it practical effect. In all the circumstances he could easily have concurred in Mr. Borden's proposal, while taking security that it was to be followed in due course by such more permanent action as he himself had contemplated. The advice of the British Admiralty was all on the side of the Canadian Government, and in view of the situation in Europe it was obvious to most people that the mother-land needed to have her hands strengthened in every possible way.[1] While Englishmen may well be proud of the record of the British Foreign Office during recent European troubles, it is no reflection or disparagement to say that England would have been stronger to-day, both morally and materially, if Sir Wilfrid Laurier had agreed with Premier Borden.

"But the party of Sir Wilfrid Laurier," Dr. Peterson continued, "has never recovered from the surprise it felt at the result of the elections in 1911, and its one prayer is that it may be given another chance. So the Laurierites took it into their heads that they could force an appeal to the country by resisting Mr. Borden's policy, and for over five months they have been attacking it with every conceivable weapon.

What they have put forward as an alternative is that Canada should at once proceed to build a navy of her own. They do not seem to be troubled at all by the knowledge that the process would be a long one, far too long for any speedy results, and that before it could be carried to completion the whole European situation might have suffered a disastrous change. And the expense would be much greater. Docks and shipyards would have to be specially constructed,

[1] Cp. "The University Magazine," February, 1913, pp. 22-29.

and no one can say how long it would be before the first ship was launched. Still there is something to be said for all this, considered as a permanent policy, and Mr. Borden's temporary measure was never intended to exclude it. All he has said is that if Canada wants to get a quick return for her money, she had better act in the meantime on the advice of the British Admiralty, and not make so much at the start of the formula of "building, manning, and equipping" a Canadian fleet in Canada. After providing the three battleships for which he asks, the country could settle down (Mr. Borden thinks) to a discussion of the whole question of a Canadian navy, of which these ships might ultimately form part, and also to a consideration of the constitutional problems which the possession of such a navy would force on us, as one of the over-seas states of the British Empire.

The case of the Liberals is somewhat prejudiced by an obvious suspicion of insincerity. They are shouting now for two fleet-units, one on the Atlantic coast and the other on the Pacific, though this was the second of two alternatives presented to them by the British Admiralty, both of which they rejected when they were in power. In these days the "local navy" was the only thing they cared about, rather than the "local unit," and they practically told the Admiralty that they knew what they wanted much better than any expert advisers. But it is sufficiently clear that the Atlantic fleet-unit may be most needed, for a time at least, in the North Sea, and that a permanent policy on the Pacific ought to be worked out in co-operation with other Dominions. It is a great advance, however, that such emphasis should now be laid by Sir Wilfrid's followers on the essential feature of close co-operation with the Imperial Navy. That is a point in regard to which the Laurierite policy is showing the results of education. There was a time when the party refused to interest itself in the matter of imperial defence. It declined to discuss the subject at the Imperial Conference in 1902, for the somewhat curious reason that no one scheme of defence could be devised that would be suited to the conditions of all the overseas Dominions.

Down to 1910 Sir Wilfrid Laurier was dead against anything that might lead Canada to get mixed up in the armaments of the Empire. His attitude at the conference of 1911 is too recent to need any description. The British Government was to take nothing for granted: the question of whether a Dominion would desire to take part in any war waged in defence of the Empire was one exclusively reserved to the Dominion in question. In spite of his previous utterance that "when England is at war, Canada is at war," he even went so far, probably in an unguarded moment, as to suggest the possibility of neutrality. This is of a piece with his statement that Canada did not wish to be consulted about defence and foreign policy, for that would imply responsibility. No wonder that such words sounded strange in English ears, coming as they did from a statesman who had exclaimed not so long previously "Call us to your councils!"

It is this vacillating attitude on the part of the leader of the Liberal party towards the imperial problem that has done so much to cast a doubt on the sincerity of the opposition to the Canadian Government in the matter of the Naval Defence Bill, and it is not too much to say that it serves to account, fully as much as the unpopularity of his Reciprocity policy, for Sir Wilfrid Laurier's defeat at the polls in September, 1911. Voluntary co-operation is a good formula for the relations of Empire and Dominion, but after all it is possible to ride a formula to death. And there is a further insincerity in the constant endeavour to make light of the European situation. Sir Wilfrid probably knows the true facts of the case just about as well as Mr. Borden himself. Yet he tried to make out only the other day that the suggestion of a naval squadron at Gibraltar should be taken as positive proof that there was no real danger in the North Sea!

One point remains. Mr. Borden's opponents have done their best to prejudice his proposal by suggesting that while Britain will take our ships, or our money, or anything that may be ours, she will give us in return no voice in the direction of affairs. There is more than insincerity here: there is positive disingenuousness. It is true that the Harcourt

Memorandum (10 December, 1912) lays stress on the fact that the Committee of Defence is a purely advisory body, and that the decision of policy is the sole prerogative of the Cabinet, subject to the support of the British House of Commons. No other statement could be made of the constitutional position as it stands to-day. But it should be recalled that Canada is now offered continuous and permanent representation on the Committee of Defence, with full and free access at all times to the leading members of the Cabinet; and also that there is real power involved, even as things stand at present, in representation on a body which comprises these leading members. They may be in session immediately afterwards as the British Cabinet, dealing with the very issues that have been under consideration in the Committee of Defence. But there is more than that. I have noted with great regret something that seems to amount to a sort of conspiracy on the part of certain spokesmen of the Liberal Party to suppress and ignore a very important speech made by Mr. Asquith in the British House of Commons on 22 July, 1912. When I have made a quotation from this speech I think I shall be entitled to ask how anyone can be justified in the assertion that Great Britain will refuse to consider the possibility of giving the Dominions a greater amount of say than they have at present. I fear the answer must be that there are men who would greatly prefer that Mr. Asquith should not have made the speech which I am about to quote: they would otherwise have been able to continue airing their imaginary grievance, and carrying on the congenial industry of stirring up ignorant prejudice. They do not want to be called into council, and so they invent the statement that Britain will never give us an invitation!

"I will add—although I will not make any detailed statement upon that point at this moment—that side by side with this growing participation in the active burdens of the Empire on the part of our Dominions, there rests with us undoubtedly the duty of making such response as we can to their obviously reasonable appeal that they should be entitled to be heard in the determination of the policy and in the direction of im-

perial affairs. I do not say—it would be wrong to state—of course Mr. Borden and his colleagues would be the first to disclaim any desire for any such declaration—but I do not say in what shape or by what machinery that great purpose is to be attained. Arrangements like that cannot be made in a day. They must be the result of mature deliberation and thought; they will probably have to develop from time to time; but without committing ourselves in any degree to particular forms in the matter, we share with our great Dominions the feeling which has become more and more conscious and articulate as years have gone on throughout the Empire that we have a common heritage and interests, and that in the enjoyment of that heritage, and in the discharge of the duties which those interests involve, we ought more and more to be conscious partners with one another" ("Hansard," Vol. XLI, 22 July, 1912).

Alongside of this extract may be placed Mr. Secretary Harcourt's words when he said, quoting in the Naval Memorandum (December, 1912) from one of his own speeches: "Speaking for myself, I see no obstacle and certainly no objection to the Governments of all the Dominions being given *at once* a larger share in the executive direction of matters of defence, and in personal consultation and co-operation with individual British ministers whose duty it is to frame policy here". Such utterances dispose effectually of the view that no matter what Canada may do, Britain will make no concession. They certainly strengthen our expectation that the claim so opportunely advanced by Mr. Borden will be met in good time. The country is undoubtedly with him in the opinions which he expressed in the Naval Debate at Ottawa (March, 1913), when he used these words: "No man need disguise from himself the fact that if the various Dominions do enter into a system of naval defence, which shall concern and belong to the whole Empire, these Dominions, while that system continues, cannot be very well excluded from having a greater voice in the councils of the Empire than they have had in past years".

Again I repeat, if we have the will we shall find the way!

PART SECOND

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS PRINCIPAL OF McGILL UNIVERSITY.[1]

It is fortunate for me that the usage of the University permitted the delay which has taken place this year in regard to the delivery of the annual University lecture. The feeling of strangeness which marked the early days of my arrival among you has now, to a great extent, worn off and disappeared. I have had time to accustom myself to the idea of citizenship in what was, to me, a new continent. Ample opportunity also has been afforded me of acquainting myself with the nature of the conditions under which my work here must go forward. I have learned to appreciate the magnitude of the operations that are carried on in the name of the University. I have been able, also, to take the first steps in the policy of earnestly identifying myself, so far as my poor ability may serve, with each of the various manifestations of our academic activity. In the four months that have elapsed since my arrival I have learned a great deal: for there was a great deal to learn. Above everything else I have realized the high character of the traditions that pertain to the office of Principal of McGill. It is an office which it is altogether unnecessary for a humble individual to magnify; it magnifies itself. Whether it be considered as gathering up the results of strenuous activity and princely munificence in the past, or as reaching forward with hopeful endeavour into the future, the position of Principal of this great University is a position of which any man may well be proud. It is a position which, with its far-reaching opportunities for usefulness, ought to call forth the very best energies of which an individual may be capable. I feel this honestly, sincerely. The feeling has

[1] Delivered as the "University Lecture" at McGill, January, 1896.

been growing in intensity, day by day, since I began my work at McGill. And, in the presence of this great audience, I renew the vows made to the representatives of the University, assembled in Corporation, when I dedicated to their service whatever qualifications I can bring to bear on the work of consolidating and advancing our common academic interests.

After the continuous activity of the past few months, I feel that I am no longer a stranger addressing strangers. And I am reminded that, for the comfortable sensation of familiarity with my surroundings which it is now my pleasant lot to experience, I am indebted to nothing so much as to the uniform courtesy and kindness with which I have been received on every hand. I have not been silent since coming among you ; indeed, a great part of my activity seems to have been taken up with the making of speeches on numerous occasions, in every kind of circumstances, formal and informal. But nothing that I have succeeded in saying yet has conveyed an adequate expression of my appreciation of the cordiality which marked my reception in Montreal. No experience could have been more grateful to one who had literally "torn himself up by the roots" from the position which he had been honoured by holding in the home-country than the experience which has been mine during these short months of initiation in your service ; and it becomes me to endeavour, once more, on this great occasion, to find words which shall serve to express—so far as it can be expressed in words—my deep sense of gratitude to all the constituent members of the University, whether governors, fellows, professors, or students, as well as to the general body of the community, for the encouragement which I have been able to derive from their kindly and sympathetic attitude towards me. I recognize in that attitude the surest evidence of the interest which is shared by all classes here in the welfare and prosperity of our University, and of the wish to secure that prosperity, and advance that welfare, by lending the support of solidarity to the individual who has been called, under you, Mr. Chancellor, and your colleagues on the Governing Board, to preside over our high academic destinies.

To the labours of Sir William Dawson as Principal the

most fitting reference that I can make, speaking in his presence, is to say that he has rendered it hard, even doubly hard, for anyone to follow him. In the year 1855, before an audience that was, no doubt, the prototype of this, Sir William pleaded his youth and inexperience as disqualifications for the office to which he had been called; to-day, in 1896, full of years and honours, he still holds incomparably the foremost place in the hearts and affections of those who, in more than one country and on more than one continent, are watching with interest the progress of academic development in Montreal. To the work that has been accomplished during these long years of strenuous and unsparing activity I bring, to-day, the tribute of a most respectful homage. I know, and can appreciate, the intensity of purpose that can induce a man to merge his own interests, almost his very existence, in the advancement of a cause which may seem to appeal to him most when it is, in a measure, helpless and unprogressive. To Sir William, and his colleagues of the early days, difficulties would appear to have presented themselves merely as incentive to further progress. And, in the end, earnest and unremitting effort won the victory, which was potentially its portion from the first. It becomes us, now that we are basking in the sunshine of assured success, to remember what we owe to the great leader whose name will always be inseparably connected with the story of Old McGill. It is no mean record of achievement to have consolidated a University and to have made at the same time a name in the scientific literature of two hemispheres.

And if the forecast should prove correct—as in the early days of my appointment Sir William, writing to me in my old home, most generously expressed the hope would be the case—that the future of McGill is to be "even more successful than the past," I for one shall never forget the obligation which is owed to him by all of us alike for far-sighted statesmanship, for ceaseless activity, and for whole-hearted devotion.

The world is older now than it was in the days when Universities first were founded, and the forces on which they

depend in our time manifest themselves in forms which it may sometimes appear hard to identify with those that led to the institution of the earliest seats of learning in Europe. The inevitable law of change has asserted itself conspicuously in the sphere of higher education. But though conditions have become very different from what they used to be, it is not difficult to trace something at least of the same spirit continuously operative through the centuries. McGill is by no means the newest University on this continent; but even between the most recent foundation and the old universities of Bologna and Paris there is an inner bond of union which difference of external circumstances cannot avail to weaken or annul. The earliest Universities were the nurslings of the Church—the Church which, after fostering learning through the darkest of the Dark Ages, had now become the great centralizing and unifying agency of mediaeval Europe. Princes and people had combined their efforts with those of learned men to develop them out of the old cathedral and cloister schools, where the only teachers were the monks. They aimed at being cosmopolitan in character: the *Studium Generale*, as its name implies, had nothing about it that was merely local, and the *Universitas Litteraria* was the first concrete embodiment of that community of letters which has since grown to greater things. And yet there is a sense in which the early universities were the models also of those technical schools which in our day have found shelter—and, let us hope, inspiration also—under the broad ægis of our academic establishments. For were they not professional schools, and—where they were not founded expressly in the interests of one Faculty, such as Law or Medicine—were not the subjects which they taught mainly such as were intended to prepare priests and monks for their work in life?

The march of time has brought with it many changes in the aim and methods of education. But identity of spirit is traceable in the spontaneous and enthusiastic desire for the advancement of knowledge which has always asserted itself —in all ages, and in nearly ever country. This desire it is that is the mainspring of the activity of the university which

claims our homage to-day. It is a grand ideal that there should exist, in the very midst of a community naturally and necessarily much occupied with other things, an institution which aims at reflecting—no doubt, with many imperfections—the highest culture, and the greatest scientific triumphs of the age in which we live. I have referred to the earliest universities as, in a sense, technical schools; but it is more important to realize that, if we claim to be their lineal successors, we must keep well to the front that conception of the unity of learning, and the inter-dependence of studies, which, in their different circumstances, they found it comparatively easy to foster. There is a greater variety of aim among our students now. We train not only those who are to be clergymen, but those, also, who are to become lawyers, doctors, teachers—all, in fact, who are to do the work that the world cannot leave undone. But a certain unity of purpose ought to inspire our whole activity, though, at times, we may be somewhat apt to lose sight of it. Even amid the diversity of modern conditions, we ought to keep alive our consciousness of common sympathies and a common inspiration. After all, the true position of a university, as such, is not to turn out recruits for the professions, but to prepare men and women, by the discipline of study, for the whole of their after life. It is necessary to emphasize the word "whole". For there is a narrow view which limits life to business-life and occupation, forgetting that the leisure of life also needs to be prepared for, if it is to be used and enjoyed aright. In the ideal of university teaching, subjects are not ranked low on the ground that they are of little or no practical value. The standard by which they must be judged is their effect on the mental training of the individual. Again, it is true, no doubt, that universities exist in order to extend the bounds of human knowledge, as well as for the training of the average man; and no university can be in a healthy condition where the spirit of original research is not actively at work. But, after all, a university can do no greater service to the community than is implied in the turning out, year by year, of a number of young men—and young

women—who have received the benefits of a sound and comprehensive education, and who have become fitted thereby, with whatever of special study they may have been able, individually, to add, to take their place worthily in the arena of life.

If I seem to be digressing to the well-worn theme of the true purpose of academic pursuits, it will, I trust, be pardoned to me, inasmuch as the broad view of the case may well bear to be re-stated in McGill. We must never lose sight of that aspect of the functions of a university according to which it seeks to give a structural unity to the various constituent parts of knowledge. To do so would be to check the development of what we may call the university spirit. No mere aggregation of professional faculties, however well equipped they may be—no groups of departmental schools—can suffice of themselves to form a university. This is only the counterpart of the statement that, for the individual, the worst possible attitude is to regard his own studies and pursuits as the only ones worth consideration, and all others as of little account. Specialized activity is, of course, a necessity of existence in days when the field of human knowledge has become so vast that many subjects must practically withdraw themselves beyond the ken even of earnest workers. It is better to know some things well than to have a mere smattering of a great number. But there is such a thing as a sense of the whole, a consciousness of the proportion of the parts, a reaching forward to the full amplitude of knowledge, a feeling of the unity which—revealed as it often is in similarity or even identity of methods and principles—knits together branches of study which may seem at first sight to lie apart. We must endure to be in a great degree practically ignorant of what lies outside our own immediate studies, but we need not be indifferent to it. An intelligent and enlightened sympathy with what others are doing is the best counteractive to the tendency towards that contractedness of mental view which is often the penalty of absorption in some particular pursuit.

This obvious truth is reflected in the constitution of our

universities, and in the interdependence of the various faculties of which they consist. Take, for instance, the Faculty of Medicine, which represents what is, perhaps, the most indispensable of all the practical sciences. It is a well-known fact that the status of medical schools which carry on their work in isolation—as is the case with some of the great London hospitals—is not so high as that of schools which enjoy the benefit of close association with a teaching university. In such institutions there is apt to be a premature assertion of what, for the purpose of my present argument, and without the slightest disparagement, I may designate the professional spirit; and even the great sciences which ought to lie at the very foundation of a medical curriculum—physics, chemistry, botany, and zoology—are in danger of being regarded in their practical and professional aspects merely. Fortunately, we have the opportunity, in McGill, of making these very sciences the bridge to secure an even closer union than exists at present between the Faculty of Medicine, which has done so much for the University in the past, and the Faculty of Arts, of which so much may be expected in the future. And I may say, incidentally, that the friends of both faculties—and all who aim at the very highest attainable results—ought not to rest until biology (including botany and zoology) and chemistry are as well housed and as adequately equipped and provided for as the sister department of physics. Take again the Faculty of Applied Science. It could easily exist, apart from the university altogether, as a well-equipped technical school. But what a limitation of aim would not this involve! To say nothing of the severance that would thus result from the other university studies which go to the making of an educated man, (studies which the students of the Faculty of Applied Science are well known not wholly to despise), the very subjects which underlie the whole work of the department—mathematics, mechanics, and physics—would be in danger of assuming, more or less prematurely, a professional colour. However tempting and attractive the offer of a definite and independent curriculum might be made to youthful entrants who are

hastening forward (or whose parents wish them to hasten) to the goal of their aspirations, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that there is such a thing as what the Germans call the "ideality of the scientific sense, the interest in science not dependent upon, nor limited by, practical aims, but ministering to the liberal education of the mind as such, the many-sided and broad exercise of the thinking faculty".

I must not attempt, within the limits of this address, to cover the whole ground of university education; but I may venture one more reference, this time to the Faculty of Law, which we have recently welcomed inside our College buildings. The excellent syllabus of the work of that faculty, which appears in the "University Calendar," shows the comprehensive nature of the aims which it cherishes. It offers the opportunity of a systematic study of law, not only with a view to its practice as a profession, but also "as a means of culture, and as a qualification for the discharge of the higher duties of citizenship". When the philosophical department of our Faculty of Arts has been opened up so as to embrace—in addition to chairs of Logic and Moral Philosophy—a chair of Social and Political Science, including Economic Theory, we shall see more clearly than we can at present how close a connexion there is between such subjects (along with History) in the Arts curriculum, and the studies which it is desired to foster and encourage in the Faculty of Law.

The sum and substance of what I have been endeavouring to state is, firstly, that we must do nothing to obscure the fact that knowledge is valuable even apart from its practical applications; and secondly, that there is a vital interdependence among all studies. An excessive devotion to the isolated applications of science must tend to obscure the broad principles on which all science rests; and a proper appreciation of the educational value of science is apt to be endangered when scientific knowledge is looked on mainly as a concrete means of profit and advancement in connexion with some particular profession or pursuit. Again, studies throw light on each other; and even when the relation is least obvious, it will generally be found that some deep-lying principle

exists, which, when discovered and applied, will bring into the closest union with each other branches that may appear to be totally unconnected. It is by apprehending the similarity of the methods that run through all the sciences that the student will be enabled, amid the multiplicity of subjects which strain for recognition, to hold fast to the ideal of the unity of learning, to keep the parts in due subordination to the conception of the whole, and to bring himself into sympathetic contact with the comprehensive circle of human knowledge.

In fostering and developing this faculty of viewing knowledge as a whole, a great part must be played by the Department of Arts, of which I must now proceed to say a few words. I have no wish unduly to exalt the studies to which my own teaching activity has been devoted, though my colleagues in the Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Applied Science could well afford—now that they are popularly supposed to have had their every want supplied—to listen with equanimity to such a eulogy, even if it were to take the practical form of an exhortation to all intending benefactors of the University to concentrate their attention during the next few years upon the Faculty of Arts. If I were to make such an appeal, I do not know that any particular Faculty could object, except, perhaps, that of Comparative Medicine, whose wants are well known to all of us. Comparisons are invidious: they are sometimes even stigmatized as odious. It is, however, no disparagement of other work to say that there is still a virtue in the old ideal of a "Faculty of Arts," that was to precede—and, fortunately for us here, does often still precede—the special study of Law, Medicine, or Theology. It is thus at once the pledge and the expression of the unity of learning, the connecting link which unites academical and professional study. It projects into outlying regions, and finds common ground everywhere. Law and Theology rely on history and philosophy, Technology on the mathematical and mechanical sciences, Medicine on physics, chemistry, zoology, and botany. Let us hope that we shall always have in McGill a large and ever-increasing body of students who will aim at acquiring, in a more fully developed

Arts curriculum, a truly wide and liberal culture before they seek to superadd to their previous studies the professional training that may be requisite to fit them for their work in life. There is an old maxim that a liberal education consists in learning something of everything and everything of something. The field of human knowledge has in these latter days become greatly extended, and perhaps somewhat unwieldy and unworkable. But so far as this maxim is still applicable to the multifarious subjects of which education must now take cognizance, it finds its best realization in the Faculty of Arts. Even in these times of specialized activity, a truly comprehensive education may still remain a realizable ideal for those who have adequate leisure and opportunity. For such students it is attainable within the limits of school and college life, provided they do not begin to apply themselves to some special training in the very first year of their collegiate course. A really liberal education must therefore still include, whatever else it may embrace—as conspicuously a sympathetic acquaintance with the literature of the mother tongue—some knowledge of the language, the literature, the art and the life of the great nations of ancient times, that the student, besides undergoing the discipline of linguistic study, may learn to know and value his intellectual ancestors —the Romans, who imposed their language and their law on a world they had bound fast in the fetters of their imperial sway, and the Greeks, from whom have emanated the creations that will remain for ever the patterns of art and the models of literary excellence. It should include a training in mathematics, for the cultivation of exact habits of thought and consecutiveness in our reasonings; and in some branch at least of natural science, the study of which will foster the faculty of observation, and will enable the student, by inductive processes, to develop order and law out of the multiplicity of phenomena that meet him when he surveys the realm of nature. Lastly, not nature only, but man—his mental and moral constitution, and the obligations and responsibilities which rest upon him in virtue of his position as a member of society and of the state.

This is not an impossible course for those whose education is carried on under favourable conditions and who are not under the necessity of hurrying on to what the Germans call their *Brodstudien.* It is certainly an ideal on which it behoves us in McGill to keep our eyes steadily fixed. A complete and comprehensive education is a more or less constant factor: it aims at the culture of the entire self, the harmonious development of all the faculties, that so their possessor may be able to keep pace with all that is highest and best in moral and intellectual aspiration. The character of special training, on the other hand, varies in different circumstances and under different conditions, and the demands of one age are not the demands of that by which it is succeeded. Our ideals in the Faculty of Arts are a standing protest against an exclusively utilitarian theory of education, if any such theory anywhere exists. The studies which it offers are not intended to be selected with care and calculation, on the ground of being profitable for some special profession or pursuit. On the contrary, it is here that the warning of the greatest of the early Greek theorists on education may still come home to us, when he said that education " must not be undertaken in the spirit of merchants or traders, with a view to buying or selling, but *for the sake of the soul herself*".

The old antagonism between Arts and Science, of which one hears so much in the popular talk of the day, may be partly resolved and reconciled in the true conception of a Faculty of Arts, such as it has been attempted to realize in McGill, though with very inadequate resources. To a great extent, it arises from a misapprehension of terms. The word Arts itself is a misnomer: it makes one think of the fine arts and of elegant accomplishments generally, if not of the black arts. The word Science again, which is merely an equivalent for knowledge—organized knowledge—cannot properly be limited to any special department of study. The antithesis is more intelligible when literature is pitted against science, the knowledge of the best thoughts of mankind, worthily expressed, against the knowledge of the laws of the external universe. But science and letters are not mutually exclusive:

there is a literature of science, and scientific method is applicable to the study of language and literature. Everything in fact depends on method. It is absurd, for example, to regard physics as scientific and philology or history as non-scientific; just as though the study of these subjects does not call for the application of method, does not offer a sphere for exercising the faculty of analogy, for reasoning from evidence towards law, from distinguishing between the rule and the exception, the essential and the accidental. In so far as they are dealt with on scientific principles, all departments of human thought, all manifestations of human life may be regarded as falling within the sphere of science. It will continue, therefore, to be the aim of our Arts Faculty—I hope under improved conditions—to harmonize the claims of literature and science, so as to render unnecessary, at least in the earlier stages of the curriculum, any rigid choice between the two. We recognize that it would be the proof of an incomplete development if a man were able to read the classics, but remained grossly ignorant of the physical universe; just as, on the other hand, we should regret the emergence of a fully-titled science graduate, say, an engineer, who was unable to clothe the results of his work in tolerable English. Eminence in either branch need not be attained at the cost of one-sidedness. The crown and flower of all education is that philosophical spirit which Bacon spoke of as *Universality*, the enlargement or illumination of mind, the mental breadth, the sanity of judgment that come from an all-round training.

To general considerations such as these it may not be inappropriate to append an attempt to forecast how, when additional endowments are forthcoming, the existing curriculum in Arts may be strengthened and extended. My apology for presuming to refer to such a subject, after so short an acquaintance with the University system is, in the first place, that I understand the need for some forward movement is fully realized by all the friends of McGill, and nowhere more fully perhaps than in the Faculty of Arts itself; while, in the second place, the conditions of Arts teaching here bear a strong family resemblance to those of the country which I

have just left, where we have all quite recently been engaged in giving a Commission appointed by Parliament our best assistance in the work of re-organizing the whole teaching system of our national Scottish Universities. Nothing that I may say in endeavouring to anticipate future improvements need be taken as implying the slightest disparagement of the work that has been accomplished in the past—often in the face of grave difficulties, and with very inadequate resources. It was expedient in the past that the generosity of benefactors should be guided to flow in channels which have raised some of the other Faculties to a level on which they can challenge comparison with similar institutions anywhere. That the ideal of completeness was never lost sight of is evident from the following passage, which I wish to give myself the satisfaction of quoting from one of Sir Wm. Dawson's published papers: "I would wish the student to have before his mind an ideal university—one complete and perfect in all its parts, with every subject, literary, scientific, or professional, adequately and uniformly provided for; with every professor at once a model as a man, and a perfect specialist in his subject, and supplied with all the means and appliances for his own progress and for teaching what he knows; with all facilities for the comfort and progress of the student; and with all its regulations so framed as to afford the greatest possible facilities for higher culture, both in general education and every useful department of study". The ideal of a nation's culture is that all branches of valuable knowledge, all departments of intellectual activity, should be fully represented in its national Universities. In the course of progress towards this ideal in McGill it seems now to be the turn of the Faculty of Arts, of which we may say at present, in the words of the poet, that like man himself, it "partly is and wholly hopes to be".

One of the first necessities of the situation, as it presents itself to me, is the need for more tutorial instruction in the great disciplinary subjects which ought to form the staple of the earlier portion of our Arts curriculum. At home, the Scotch universities have been making an earnest effort to

raise the standard of admission required from all students who intend to proceed to a degree; but they have been unable to shut their eyes to the fact that, till the schools throughout the country can rise to such a uniform standard, it will be expedient to continue those junior classes in Latin, Greek and Mathematics, in which—though they are now outside the regular Arts curriculum—tutors and professors unite to work up, by vigorous teaching, the somewhat crude material out of which they hope to develop the—more or less—finished graduate. A similar condition of things seems to me to exist in Canada, where, especially in country districts, the lack of previous opportunity for adequate preparation for university work is, of course, much greater than it is in Scotland to-day. Next, I venture to think that we have need of greater concentration, where that can be secured, throughout the whole curriculum. The conditions that are natural and necessary for the work of the school are too closely reproduced in a university where candidates are sometimes occupied with as many as seven or eight subjects at a time. The intellectual maturity that ought to be the mark of the university student can hardly be attained to under such conditions as these. If he has to apply his mind to languages and literatures, ancient and modern, mathematics, history, physics and natural science, surely we must endeavour so to divide his work that he shall be mainly occupied with one set of subjects at one time, and with another set at another.

It may be of interest to indicate briefly how this problem has been dealt with in Scotland. The old system was beautifully simple, if somewhat limited in its scope. It implied for all but the best students a four years' course in Classics, Mathematics and Philosophy. During the two first years of the curriculum, a student might occupy himself exclusively with Classics and Mathematics, and he would then pass, say, the classical part of the degree. In his third year he would take up the study of Natural Philosophy, which he would combine with his mathematical studies for the purpose of passing in that department. But as a subsidiary subject he would also take Logic and Metaphysics, which would lead

him on to specialize in Philosophy during the fourth or last year of his course, at the close of which he would graduate in that department (with English Literature thrown in as an extra subject), and then be dubbed Master of Arts.

That was a scheme which had all the merits of simplicity and straight-forwardness, and which may still be favourably compared with more pretentious systems elsewhere. Its defect was that it took little or no account of modern subjects. Accordingly, when the Commissioners came to remodel it, they proceeded on the plan of taking the two subjects which had in each case made up the departments of Classics, Mathematics and Philosophy, and offering them as options. After giving sufficient evidence of good standing in his school subjects (evidence that is obtained through the medium of a University Preliminary examination, which has now been made identical for all Scotland—just as it has sometimes been proposed to institute an identical examination for all Canada), the candidate for a degree is invited to choose *between* Latin and Greek, *between* Mathematics and Physics, *between* Logic and Moral Philosophy. Along with the seventh branch of the old curriculum—English Literature—is conjoined Modern History, or French, or German. A choice of one subject out of each of these departments will yield four in all; and for the additional three subjects that are still required to make up the "sacred seven," a candidate may take any of those which he has rejected, or Political Economy, or Chemistry, or Zoology, or Botany, or Geology, or Education, or Archæology, or Hebrew, or Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. To guard against excessive dislocation, it has been enacted that the whole subjects taken shall include at least one special department of allied subjects: i.e., the student must take either (*a*) both Latin and Greek, or (*b*) both Logic and Moral Philosophy, or (*c*) any two of the following three subjects: Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.

From this brief sketch it will be seen that the principle of options, already recognized to some extent in McGill, has now been introduced into the Scottish University system;

and it is a principle which, in my judgment, is capable of an almost indefinite extension, provided certain preliminary conditions are realized. I do not speak at present of the liberty the student enjoys of beginning his studies at once in one of the professional Faculties, without any previous training in Arts. I applaud the efforts which have been made to lay down a course in Arts, which shall be preliminary to the professional study, for example, of medicine; and it seems obvious to me that if the full Arts course cannot be taken by medical students, they should have the option of studying in the Arts curriculum, along with literary subjects, especially English, the great underlying sciences of Physics, Botany and Zoology. But in the Arts course itself—given a satisfactory Matriculation examination, and also an Intermediate which shall represent proficiency in the disciplinary portion of the curriculum—I should not object to seeing the student receive full latitude to pass on to more specialized study in one or more of certain related groups. For there does seem to be a point in intellectual development after which the learner may be left to choose judiciously between Language and Literature, for example, whether ancient or modern; Philosophy in its widest applications; Mathematics and "Physical" Science generally; Chemistry and "Natural" Science. There is a period during which one may be helping to mould one's mental constitution by bestowing attention even on subjects for which one may feel little or no natural aptitude; but that period cannot profitably be made to last for ever. And there is even a virtue in the exercise of the faculty of choice. "The new obligation," to use the words of the late Prof. Seeley, "which falls upon the student of deciding for himself between several courses of study, calls him to make an effort which may certainly be very beneficial to him. The old uniformity which was so tranquillizing to the mind . . . deprived the student of one of the most wholesome of mental exercises—the exercise of appraising or valuing knowledge." And again: "The student should be always considering what subjects it is most important for him to study, what knowledge and acquirements his after-life

is likely to demand, what his own intellectual powers and defects are, and in what way he may best develop the one and correct the other. His mind should be intent upon his future life, his ambitions should anticipate his mature manhood. Now, in this matter the business of the University is by a quiet guidance to give these ambitions a liberal and elevated turn." . . . "If by the new variety of our studies, and the new difficulty of choosing between several courses, students should be led to a habit of intelligently comparing the different departments of knowledge, a great gain would accrue from a temporary embarrassment."

But it is comparatively useless to speak of the further extension of the principle of options in the Arts Department of McGill, so long as the curriculum remains incomplete, and so long as the work undertaken is hampered by insufficient resources. The vast subject of Philosophy is represented at present in the person of a single professor, with a lecturer attached. And there is no provision at all for that teaching of Social and Political Science (including the Theory of Economics), which is so living a force in most modern universities. The development of political theory, the comparative study of constitutions, the origin and functions of the state, modern municipal systems and administration—the study of topics such as these could not fail to create a better informed public opinion in regard to subjects that are of the highest importance to our common citizenship. Sociology, Economics, and Political Science—taken along with History as a living study—would form the best possible training for those who may, in after life, be called upon to take some part in the administration of social affairs, or the direction of social thought, or the improvement of social conditions. These subjects would be a training in themselves for journalists and members of the Civil Service; in a young country such as this, they might even prove a very school of statesmanship.

Again, we have no properly endowed Chair of Zoology; and, though excellent work is being done in this department, the appliances and accommodation for practical teaching cannot be considered adequate. The Chair of Botany is also in

need of additional endowment and equipment; and I look forward—as I have said already—to the day when the two departments shall be housed together in a Biological Institute, which shall loom as grandly on the campus as our present Physics building. Chemistry, too, has long been in want of additional accommodation and equipment for practical work; by migrating to new laboratories of the approved modern type and provided with a sufficient staff, it would not only relieve the pressure on the old buildings, but would also be enabled—in association with Mining and Metallurgy—to stretch forth helping hands to the work of the Faculty of Applied Science. The interest of modern languages and literatures might also be further secured by the extension of the teaching staff, regard being had, in the appointments made, not only to practical skill in teaching, but also to evidence of special research in the literature and philology of the Romance and Germanic tongues. Lastly, I will venture to record my conviction that the equipment of no university is complete which does not make some provision—though not necessarily as an integral part of the regular curriculum—for the study of Art and Music. These subjects ought not, in my judgment, to be relegated to establishments for the higher education of young ladies. They are as necessary, as counteractives to the exclusive cultivation of the intellect, as are the indispensable exercises in which nerve and muscle are strengthened and developed on the campus. Our function as educators does not stop short at the accumulation of knowledge. We must strive after beauty as well as truth; we must cultivate imagination and sympathy as well as intellect. Otherwise, how shall we realize that ideal of spiritual culture that was sketched for us long ago by Plato, when he prayed that the youth of his Republic, gifted with the faculty of discerning the "true nature of beauty and grace," might "dwell in the land of health amid fair sights and sounds; and beauty, the effluence of fair works, will visit the eye and ear, like a healthful breeze from a purer region, and insensibly draw the soul into harmony with the beauty of reason".

The mention of Plato reminds me that I have omitted to speak at any length of the place of classical studies in our University—not because the subject does not lie near to my heart, but because it might seem to deserve a lecture in itself. Though I am a Professor of Classics, I do not hold the view that Greek and Latin have still a paramount—far less an exclusive—claim to dominate the whole field of education. Such supremacy belonged to them of right in the days when ancient literature was the main storehouse of human wisdom, when it was recognized as containing the best things that could be known at the time—what will always be valued as "imperishable thoughts expressed in noble language". The lessons taught by the classics—though they still retain all the freshness of their originals—have naturally become absorbed in modern literature, and have passed into the general body of our common inheritance from the past. I still maintain, however, that Latin and Greek are unsurpassed as disciplinary studies, and that they hold the key to one of the greatest and most important chapters of human history. And that is why I hope, in directing the work of the classical department, to be able to give effect to broad views of classical teaching, so far as these may be realizable in the conditions under which the main body of our students come up to the University. Parents and guardians, who are inclined to revolt against what they consider as the lumber of dead learning, ought to remember, with regard to the disciplinary side, say of Latin, that a knowledge of that ancient language is accepted by cultivated opinion everywhere as affording the "highest guarantee for a proper understanding of the scientific principles of grammar and analysis, the best security for ability to use one's own language intelligently, and the fittest introduction to the study of any other". But the study of the classics, in a broad sense, ought to mean a great deal more than that. It ought to embrace, not the language only, but the literature, the history, the art, the life, and the institutions of the two greatest nations of antiquity. It is in this aspect of the subject that—even on a comparison with other departments—the truth will still hold that on classical

studies the educated world will never be able to turn its back.

The linguistic side may not attract the sympathies of every student: some may even be repelled by the comparative study of grammar and syntax, though it is here that recent advances have given classics their greatest claim to a place among the exact sciences. But there will always remain the human side of the subject, that which justifies the grand old title of "The Humanities," in which the learner may look out on the whole field of ancient life and thought, moral, philosophical, religious, literary, social, and political. To those who will follow this leading, and who will patiently provide themselves with due equipment, literature may come to take the place of grammar, poetry of prosody, reading and appreciation of translation and composition—the spirit, in fact, of the letter. And it will be here, in my judgment, that classical studies will continue longest to assert their vitality. The idea of Rome has impressed itself too deeply on the fabric of our common civilization, and on the onward march of history, ever to be lightly effaced—especially, if the word may be said, among the people, and the offshoots of the people, which in the arts of government and law may claim to be the lineal successor of the old *Senatus Populusque Romanus;* and the literature, the art, the philosophy of Greece will for ever remain the clearest expression of the whole spirit of classical antiquity, and the most perfect intellectual product to which the world has ever attained.

I end where I began. In a harmonious development, the enthusiasm for scientific discovery will be reconciled with the spirit of reverence that loves to dwell on the thoughts and literary achievements of the past. Those among us, whether teachers or students, who are engaged in following the triumphs of physical science, may let their imagination rest at times on the patient labours of scholars who busy themselves with deciphering from new discoveries fresh lessons in the history and the life of the nations of antiquity; on the other hand, the scholar will do well to learn to appreciate the methods and results of scientific research. While we cultivate each

our little corner of the fruitful field, we may all look out with sympathetic interest on the ample prospect which unfolds itself to our view. This attitude of mind will be the best guarantee of that catholicity and universality which is the central feature of what I have called the University spirit. It will enable us to realize in some degree that sense of the unity and continuity of learning which is the mainspring of all University work. In wise old Bacon's words, "Let this be a rule that all partitions of knowledge be accepted rather for lines and veins than for sections and separations". The various departments which claim our intellectual energies do not lie isolated and apart, but are mutually interconnected. "They resemble a vast forest"—to use an image employed by the historian Gibbon—"every tree of which appears, at first sight, to be isolated and separate; but on digging beneath the surface their roots are found to be all interlaced with each other." In all the various forms of intellectual activity it is one and the same human spirit that is endeavouring to assert itself; and in proportion as we sympathize with our fellow-searchers after truth and knowledge shall we be successful in realizing the idea of that community of letters, that *Universitas Litterarum*, of which here in Montreal our University is intended to be the concrete embodiment and expression.

OUR SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY.[1]

Members of Convocation, Undergraduates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

THE arrangement by which the Annual University Lecture is henceforth to be delivered on our Founder's Birthday marks a new departure in the internal economy of the University; and it may be expedient, by way of introduction, to set forth in a few words the reasons for the change. For several years past this lecture has been given at almost any time of the year that happened to be convenient to the lecturer. He was usually one of the considerable number of new professors who have recently enriched the teaching staff, and, though sometimes pleading for a few months' grace, he was not at heart unwilling to avail himself of so conspicuous an opportunity of setting forth, before an audience intended to represent the whole University, the special importance and attractiveness of his particular subject. With the growing solidarity of the Faculties, and an increasing consciousness on the part of all of us that we belong to one common whole, the view has been expressed, and has found very gratifying support, that the proper way for a great University to begin its annual operations is for all its members to meet together with one accord in one place, and to signify by such meeting their acceptance of the watchword "unity amid diversity". Every year that adds itself to our history witnesses an ever-growing complexity in our academic machinery. But it is easier now, perhaps, than it has sometimes been—even notwithstanding the fact that the Molson Hall has become quite inadequate to our needs—to cherish the feeling that we are

[1] The Annual University Lecture for 1904, Montreal, 6 October, 1904.

all members one of another, and that nothing can happen in any section of the University that is not of interest and importance to the whole.

This being so, the suggestion was received from the Academic Board that our Founder's Birthday, which falls so fitly almost at the beginning of the session, would be the proper occasion for the holding of such an annual celebration. James McGill was born on 6 October, 1744. It may be said that he "builded more wisely than he knew" when he made provision for the foundation of a college which—though it has reached a development surpassing, in all likelihood, his fondest dreams—is still content to bear his name. In reading recently Mr. Morley's "Life of Gladstone"—a work which, in view of the author's approaching visit to McGill, had for me a double interest, and which has just been characterized by Dr. Goldwin Smith as the most notable event in the publishing world since the issue of the first volumes of Macaulay's "History"—in reading Gladstone's life, I was much struck by the way in which, under fortunate circumstances, individuals may link the centuries together. Mr. Gladstone's father was born in 1764, and died in 1851. The great statesman himself lived to see his 88th birthday before his death in 1898. James McGill was born twenty years earlier than Mr. Gladstone's father, and, dying in 1813, he might have left a son who could have been with us down to quite recent memory. What changes have taken place within the span of two such lifetimes! It would have been altogether impossible for our founder, when in 1813 he laid down a life full of high purpose, public spirit, and honest industry, to forecast the future which we are privileged now to read like an open book. The political destiny of his adopted country must often have seemed to him full of dark and well-nigh insoluble problems. The war which raged round the proposal to found, by the aid of Government grants, a Provincial University, of which McGill College should be a component part, was only an augury of the unfortunate dualism which has since prevailed in regard to educational interests in the province of Quebec. At the time of James McGill's death

the population of Montreal was scarcely 15,000: the extent of its foreign trade may be measured by the fact that nine ships, of an aggregate of 1589 tons, are reported as having come up from the sea in the year 1813. Our founder's heart would thrill with patriotic exultation if he could come back to earth and witness the gigantic strides which Montreal and Canada have made in all that pertains to material progress and advancement; but may we not well believe that the moment of his greatest rapture would come when he turned to look on the noble pile of buildings, reared by the munificence of others of his own race and speech, and standing on what is, architecturally, one of the finest University sites on the whole American continent? Conspicuous in the very centre of our common collegiate life is the spot where now his honoured bones repose: *placida compostus pace quiescit.* The steadfast purpose which he had at heart has been realized increasingly with the lapse of years, and his memory will ever be cherished by a grateful and appreciative community.

Recent research in the Matriculation Register of the University of Glasgow has brought to light the fact that nearly a century and a half ago James McGill, along with his brother Andrew (with whom he was afterwards in partnership in Montreal), entered as a student at that famous seat of learning, as you are students here to-day.[1] It was the custom in those days to enter young, and James McGill matriculated at an age (12) at which we should hardly welcome accessions to the college which now bears his name. But the emergence of the date, and of the fact of his connexion with Glasgow University, gives additional point to a passage in the Latin address which was forwarded by Corporation to Glasgow for the celebration of its ninth jubilee, with the acknowledgment that it was from Glasgow that Montreal had received, by the hand of James McGill, "that glowing torch which is never to grow dim or to be

[1] The entries in the Matriculation Album of Glasgow University are as under:—

1756 "Jacobus McGill filius natu maximus Jacobi mercatoris Glasguensis".

1765 "Andreas McGill filius natu quintus Jacobi mercatoris Glasguensis".

extinguished in this land".[1] This sturdy son of Glasgow knew what its school and college system had done for his native land, and he was anxious to secure to all time the same advantages for the country of his adoption. It is not too much to say that the McGill bequest has proved the "real centre and rallying point" of English education throughout our Province.

An important stage in the history of the McGill foundation is marked by the session on which we have just entered. We can now look back on seventy-five years of teaching work. It was in 1829 that, after some litigation on the subject of James McGill's will, the ceremony in connexion with the opening of the new college was held in Burnside House, the former residence of the founder. The institution started with a Faculty of Arts, consisting of the principal and two professors; but on the very day of the inaugural ceremony an important accession was received in the shape of a Faculty of Medicine, composed of the four professors who then formed the Montreal Medical Institute. It was mainly through this Medical Faculty, and owing to the reputation its professors had already achieved, that McGill College was able to make any progress at all during the next twenty years. What its later history was after the new charter was received in 1852, and under the long principalship of the late Sir William Dawson, it is needless here to recall. And now a new quarter-century is opening to our view. In many centres this would have been made the occasion of a great celebration, attended by distinguished representatives from

[1] "Ut enim cum Scoticis Universitatibus summa nobis fuit semper necessitudo ac familiaritas quippe qui genere, institutis, studiis quoque academicis haud multum simus dissimiles, ita artiore quodam cognationis vinculo vobiscum consociati sumus, quod Glasguae natus est, abhinc annos amplius centum et quinquaginta, noster ille conditor Jacobus McGill, cuius memoriam grato adhuc animo et summa pietate prosequimur: qui, quamquam iniquo aequoris Atlantici spatio divsus, moribundus quoque dulces reminiscebatur Argos, et voluit in novo domicilo existere Academiam quae vestrae potissimum Universitatis referret speciem. Iuvat igitur praedicare a vobis nos per illum taedam illam lucentem accepisse, quae utinam in his terris numquam obscuretur aut evanescat."

other seats of learning, and by graduates from every part of the country. Thank-offerings in the shape of large additional endowments would have poured in from appreciative supporters, and some return in the shape of honorary degrees might have been made to visitors from sister Universities. But though a repetition of the University dinner, last celebrated in 1896, is still within the range of possibility, the general feeling seems to be that McGill has not accomplished all she would like to do before inviting the learned world to join her in holding high festival. Those of you who may find it convenient to attend in the year 1929 (or perhaps 1921, when we received our Charter) will probably enjoy an opportunity of witnessing something on a scale adequate to the occasion of what will then be a centennial celebration!

On the fly-leaf of an old book I find the following Greek verse:—

ἔργα νέων βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων εὐχαὶ δὲ γερόντων.[1]

Below it the scribe has obligingly furnished a Latin translation: Consule vir, fac vota senex, iuvenisque labora. The meaning is that youth is the time for work, manhood for counsel, and old age for dreaming and praying. Personally, I have not yet begun to dream, or to limit myself to prayers. But as this session marks the tenth year of my residence in Montreal, it has occurred to me that it might not be considered presumptuous if I were to venture to take a forward view, and to forecast the course of the next twenty-five years in the light of the past decade. It is here that wise counsel will be needed, and prayers as well. I might have chosen as the subject of this address some topic remote from current academic questions. Like other University lecturers, I have my favourite studies, the fruits of which, so far as they can be made of general interest, might not unfitly be served up to an audience on an occasion such as this. But the principal of a modern and progressive University has to live very much in the concrete. Wherever he may go he takes his charge in thought along with him. And when he has the

[1] From Hesiod: v. Hyperides, ed. Blass, p. 81.

opportunity of addressing such an audience, and through it a wider public, he may as well try to turn it to good account, for the advancement of the common cause.

Nearly nine years ago, after but a few months' experience of conditions at McGill, I ventured to embody in a similar lecture, delivered before the University, my ideas of what we should mainly aim at in what was then the immediate future. Will you allow me first to take a backward glance, and by a kind of academic stock-taking endeavour to ascertain how far the aspirations then set forth have been realized in fact? This will probably be the best possible introduction to anything I may feel impelled to say of what is still before us as a University.

The main subject of my paper was the "Unity of Learning". Even its title may recall some of the associations of former days, and lead to some congratulations among the friends of the University on the fact that things are not now as they may once have been. McGill is "more together" to-day than it used to be. If I have been able to contribute in any way to this desirable end, it has not been only because my instincts pointed in that direction, but because I did not fail to take to heart the wise words of my venerable predecessor in office, when, in his "Thirty-Eight Years of McGill"—the University lecture delivered by Sir William Dawson in 1893—he spoke as follows: "The operations of McGill are now so extensive and complicated that the dangers of disintegration and isolation have become greater than any others, and the Principal must always be the central bond of union of the University, because he alone can know it in all its parts and weigh the claims, needs, dangers, difficulties and opportunities of each of its constituent faculties and departments". Perhaps it was mainly with this thought in mind that I made the main burden of my own inaugural address, in 1896, an appeal for a greater degree of that recognition of the vital interdependence among all studies on which the feeling of a true University brotherhood must ever rest. Only in proportion as we sympathize with our fellow-seekers after knowledge and truth, even while cultivating for ourselves

each his little corner of the fruitful field, do we realize the attitude of mind that ought to be the distinguishing mark of an academic community. There is a certain unity of purpose running through our diverse operations that ought to inspire in all of us a consciousness of common sympathies. If, on the other hand, we lose ourselves in our special preoccupations, holding as of little account all other studies and pursuits, we shall pay the penalty in a limitation of mental view that will debar us from enjoying the true communion of spirits. Some degree of specialization is of course a necessity of existence in days when it is no longer possible for a single mind to "take all knowledge for its province". To a large extent we must endure to be practically ignorant of much that lies outside the range of our own immediate studies; but we need not be indifferent to it. A sympathetic appreciation of the spirit and aims of workers in other fields than our own is quite within the range of every one of us—even the youngest! And it is only by cultivating this frame of mind that the individual student can make his own special pursuit a humane study, a collaboration towards universal ends, inspired with the feeling of ideality, as well as with the needed sense of the proportion of the parts as related to full amplitude of knowledge.

Such an attitude on the part of individuals is the best possible guarantee for the maintenance and development of that which is so often on the lips of all of us—the University spirit. May I refer to two concrete manifestations of that spirit which are among the novelties of our recent history, and which have not yet attained, perhaps, their full effect and potency? Though blessed otherwise with an excellent constitution, McGill did not possess, until recent years, any organization through the medium of which the collective wisdom of its professorial staff could be brought to bear on current problems. The individual professor could make his voice heard only in his own separate Faculty or through the mouth of the delegate of that Faculty to Corporation. And so it was open to him to take just as much interest, and no more, in questions of administration as his comparatively

limited opportunities allowed of, and at the same time conveniently to disown all responsibility for any mistakes which, in his judgment, might be committed by the University acting in its corporate capacity. All this has been changed by the institution in 1898 of the Academic Board, charged with the duty of "considering such matters as pertain to the interests of the University as a whole, and making recommendations concerning the same". I do not know of any more important step in the direction of solidarity than this. And we have not far to go in seeking for an illustration of the opportunities thus afforded. Undoubtedly the greatest boon that has come during recent years to the University, as a whole, is Sir William Macdonald's gift of the McGill Union. There is not a member of the permanent staff who ought not to be interested in the affairs of this institution—whether they concern its constitution, its internal arrangements, or the regulations for its maintenance and administration. The Union is bound to play a most important part in the future in the development of student life at McGill. Well, the Academic Board provides a free outlet for the frank expression of any views or criticisms which may be entertained by any member of the teaching body on this or any other topic.[1]

[1] Compare the following from the Report of the President of Yale University, 1903-4:—

"The growth of the spirit of co-operation between the several departments has been reflected in the increased interest and importance of the meetings of the University Council. The history of that body has been a little different from what was expected at the time of its foundation. It has less importance as a place for legislative action; it has more importance as a place for the interchange of ideas and the formation of public opinion. As far as the actual work of the government of the University is concerned, the different faculties can meet most of the problems as they arise; and whenever anything comes up where serious conflicts of interest between different faculties are involved, it usually has to go to the Corporation or to one of its committees for settlement, rather than to a body like the University Council. But this very absence of legislative power has increased the Council's usefulness as a field for the interchange of ideas. Numbering as it does on its roll some of the most influential members of the different departments, it gives to each of them the means of seeing matters of University finance or of interdepartmental co-operation approached from more sides and looked at from more standpoints than would

Account has also to be taken of the collective wisdom of the undergraduates themselves. They are, of course, not so permanent an element in the constitution as their teachers: nothing but failure to pass the statutory examinations could retain many of their number in the service of the University beyond the usual four year limit! But their views and opinions on matters of current interest are always entitled to a sympathetic and respectful hearing. The difficulty as to the expression of these views—for "mass meetings" of so large a body are not always an easy or effective or convenient method of giving utterance to permanent policy—has been eliminated by the institution of the Alma Mater Society, corresponding to the Students' Representative Councils of the Scottish Universities. This body, on which personally I rely very greatly for the possibility of keeping in touch with student feeling, is invested with just as much authority as the general mass of the undergraduates may care to give it. Whether that be large or small, there is surely a great advantage in having an accredited medium, within the limits of the constitution, through which may be expressed any well-considered opinions that may be held by our undergraduates on any topic of current interest.

There remain only the graduates. McGill is rich in the affectionate loyalty of her sons, organized as they are in the various graduate societies which flourish in all the large centres of the Dominion, and also in the United States. We see too little of them here in Montreal. Perhaps, if in connexion with our annual convocation at the close of each session, a Graduates' Day could be organized, they would have better opportunities of maintaining their local connexion, and also of offering suggestions for the advancement of McGill interests in the various districts they represent.

be possible within the limits of a single faculty. The Council has a function analogous to that exercised by the English Parliament in the early days of its history—where the delegates from each part of England presented their views to men from the other parts, and were able to report back to their own constituents the judgments which they had thus been able to form concerning the interests of the commonwealth as a whole."

It is not without much gratification that I find, on referring to the Inaugural Address of nine short years ago, how much of the progress then foreshadowed has been already realized. Perhaps no more important issue was raised in that Address than the necessity for the extension and reorganization of the Faculty of Arts. If this Faculty receives the foremost place in what must be a very rapid review of our recent history, I am sure I shall have the approval of all who recognize the importance of the Arts curriculum as the essential basis of the whole University fabric. Not only have we received from three different sources the three endowed professorships to the need for which I called attention in 1896—Economics, Philosophy, Zoology—but our generous supporter, Sir William Macdonald, has greatly relieved the finances of the Faculty by providing endowments also for the already existing Chairs of Botany and History. Moreover, Arts shares with the sister Faculty of Applied Science the gratification that another aspiration uttered nine years ago has been fulfilled in the most magnificent way possible, viz.: that the Department of Chemistry should be provided with new laboratories of the approved modern style, and a sufficient staff to run them. Concurrently with this strengthening of its staff and equipment, the Faculty took in hand the reorganization of the academic curriculum; with the result that we may confidently assert that there is nowhere in Canada a stronger body of teachers in this department, or a more satisfactory and "up-to-date" course of study. In this reference I must not forget the organization of the Royal Victoria College, which engrossed in the earlier years much of my time and attention. That it is an important factor in the prosperity of the Faculty of Arts, which it has greatly strengthened, goes without saying. I may be allowed to recall in particular the fact that it was in the Royal Victoria College that a new branch of study, prophesied in my inaugural address, had its birth—a department destined to grow to great proportions in our future work—the Department of Music, represented now by the new Conservatorium on Sherbrooke Street. Of the significance of this new part

of our educational programme there is much that I should like to say, but it may be well to reserve further comment for the opening ceremony to be held on the 14th of this month, under the illustrious auspices of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Premier of the Dominion.

The phenomenal success of the Faculty of Applied Science, which nine years ago was still a comparatively new foundation, is one of the brightest pages in our recent history. In a department which owes almost everything to a single giver, as regards both equipment and endowment, it is superfluous to enter into any detail; it should be stated, however, that the complete establishment of the Chairs of Mining and Metallurgy, as well as of that of Architecture, falls within the period now under review. Sir William Macdonald has his reward—if indeed he looks for any reward—in the unstinted praise which is everywhere accorded to the work of this Faculty, and most recently in the reports of the Mosely Commission. For a time it seemed as if Canada were in danger of being altogether overlooked by Mr. Mosely's Commissioners, and it is a personal satisfaction to me to recall the part I took in bringing about a visit which resulted in the admission that McGill "possesses material appliances for the development of scientific knowledge at least not inferior to any that can be found in the United States" (Report, page 164). And again: "While thoroughly equipped and doing excellent work on the literary side, McGill is particularly rich in science and applied science, and possesses in physics, chemistry, engineering, and mining a staff and laboratories which are unsurpassed by those of any American University" (page 303). The commissioner who was specially charged with the duty of reporting on Canadian institutions was particularly impressed by the proposal to open a Department of Railroad Engineering, which he characterizes as the most remarkable instance that came under his notice, in the course of his whole American tour, of the growing belief in the value of a college training. "It is significant," says Dr. Reichel, "that the most remarkable token of confidence in the value of academic work to

industrial development has been furnished in connexion with McGill University. The decision of two great railway companies to establish and equip a department of railway engineering at McGill is one of immense importance to Canada. Not only will the new school enable these companies to push on their work in the North-west Provinces, but it will also furnish, in the staff of officials of real scientific attainments whom it will train, a body of men who will serve as centres of industrial development of all kinds in the new districts" (page 304).

When I came to McGill the Faculty of Law had only quite recently abandoned its former status as a proprietary professional school, and taken rank as an integral part of the University. For this welcome transformation we know what we owe to our never-failing friend and supporter, Sir William Macdonald. It may be of interest to state that at Yale University a similar improvement was effected only last year. So in this respect we can say we are more than a decade ahead of Yale. The control of the University over the affairs of the Department of Law is now as complete as in the case of the other Faculties, and the change has been accomplished with the happiest results in the way of the consolidation of mutual interests. Moreover, the successful organization of the Faculty, under a new Dean, has widened the outlook of its members and friends, and should result ere long in securing some enlargement of the sphere of its operations. Till quite recently we have all felt compelled to acquiesce in the view that local conditions naturally and necessarily restrict our Law Faculty to the task of training lawyers for the Province of Quebec. The appointment of one of its best known graduates to a Professorship at Cairo was regarded at the time as a quite exceptional occurrence. In this respect the Faculty of Law has certainly stood in a somewhat different position from the other faculties—say, of Applied Science or Medicine. The young engineer or doctor who finds no room at home can always try his fortune abroad, whereas the young lawyer who has learnt the law of Quebec only cannot expect to have more than one market for his

wares. That market is, of course, the Province of Quebec itself. And when we consider how large a portion of the Quebec Bar is French-Canadian, and how natural it is that all but a handful of them should get their law at Laval, we shall not be surprised that—under existing conditions—the number of students in our Faculty of Law is not likely to receive any very large increase. It is true that a few find their way to us from British Columbia, Manitoba, and the North-west Territories, where there are in the meantime no organized law schools. But on its present footing the Faculty of Law may be said, speaking broadly, to be a school of law for the lawyers and notaries of the Province of Quebec. This, of course, need not be understood as conveying the slightest disparagement or depreciation. If we confine ourselves in this department to merely provincial aims, so do three-fourths of the law schools on the American continent. We know how thoroughly our Law Faculty enjoys and deserves the confidence of the profession, which regards it as an efficient and well-organized school, conferring a degree that ranks second to none. But may we not hope in any way to extend our present boundaries? Not to any great extent, I am afraid, under existing conditions. And yet it is desirable that Canada should possess a law school which shall be a Dominion and not a Provincial Institution. As we grow in nationhood, we shall need more and more trained publicists and civil servants and statesmen. Where are they to get their training? If our Law Faculty is to aid in this work, she will have to add to what she has at present a good deal that she has not. By way of making a suggestion, let me say that she will need, to begin with, a chair of English Common Law. The possession of such a chair would enable us to attract more students from the West, and would show that the ambitions of our School of Law are not limited by the boundaries of our Province.

I come now to the Faculty of Medicine. The reference made at the outset of my remarks to the inaugural ceremony held in 1829, at which the already existing School of Medicine joined hands with the infant college, will have sufficed to re-

mind you of the fact that the history of this Faculty reaches farther back almost than that of McGill itself. And in the early years of stress and struggle, when McGill College seems to have been the wrestling ground of denominational factions, it was the efficiency and prestige of the Medical Faculty that kept the College alive. Let us never forget that much of the progress of this Faculty has been due to the unselfish effort and the devoted sacrifices of many who have been at various periods associated with its teaching. Since 1896 it has seemed to have reached the high-water mark of its prosperity. It has had as many students as it could easily accommodate, and the two great hospitals with which it is so closely associated have stood forth to the world with ever-increasing efficiency as models of what such hospitals should be. Many of you will be surprised, in these circumstances, if I here record my conviction that no department of our work requires more strengthening at the present time than the Faculty of Medicine, and that no claims for large endowments ought to take precedence of those which might be urged by the members of that Faculty.

Why do I say this of a Faculty one of whose proudest boasts is that it has always been able to hold its own and to manage its own affairs without being beholden to anybody? Because the facts warrant the statement. In recent years the Faculty has been fortunate in receiving a considerable sum of money from Lord Strathcona and the members of his family, given mainly for the highly desirable and, indeed, almost indispensable purpose of extending and improving the Medical Building. Apart from this, however, and some assistance in the departments of Pathology, Physiology, and Pharmacology, the Medical Faculty has in the last nine years received nothing at all from the general public, for which it does so much. If the prevailing impression is that it has no needs, or at least none that it cannot itself supply, the sooner that idea can be dissipated the better. The demands made by the various branches of medicine at the present day—always increasing with the constant advances in medical knowledge—the crying need for more specialized instruction,

and for the displacement of the large lecture by the divisional or unit system, with a greater amount of detailed teaching and more personal supervision on the part of the instructor —all this combines to render the further and fuller endowment of our Medical School one of our most pressing needs, perhaps the most urgent of all. From the very earliest days of its foundation, owing to the excellent clinical instruction provided in the hospitals, our Faculty of Medicine has been a standard-bearer among the schools of the whole American Continent. We want to keep it in the van. That is the motto —agmina ducens—which its patron and friend, Lord Strathcona, has chosen for his coat-of-arms in the peerage of Great Britain. We want to have it also for the motto of our Faculty. Though Montreal is not quite so big a place as New York or Boston, or Philadelphia or Chicago, we must not stand idly by and see our great school of medicine lose the lead which it once obtained over the schools which are coming now to be so lavishly endowed and so magnificently equipped in those important centres. Nor do we wish to see our Canadian students of medicine tempted across the line to these or any other schools. That is why it is incumbent on this University, in view of existing conditions, to aim high in what it seeks to do for medicine. It is not enough to turn out each year a stated number of men, who are likely to become thoroughly sound and experienced general practitioners. That is highly important, even essential, for a young and developing country like Canada, but it is not the whole duty of a medical school which aims at first rank. The reputation of such a school must be more than merely local. It will remain comparatively unknown in the greater world of scientific medicine, if it does not train a considerable proportion of men capable of making their mark in other schools, and of becoming leading authorities in some branch of medical work. This is only one aspect of the admitted fact that nowadays a university takes rank, not as a teaching machine, but according to the measure of its achievements in the higher field of research and investigation. And so the training of the scientific physician, qualified to make additions to know-

ledge as well as to impart it to others, must continue to be a leading feature of our school. Here comes in the need for well-equipped laboratories, giving a thoroughly sound scientific training in medicine preparatory to clinical work. This is a costly business, and it will become even more costly than it is at present, with the larger number of classes that will result from the extension of the medical curriculum from four years to five. It is quite conceivable that this forward step, when it comes to be taken, will lose us some students. One of the disadvantages of the present situation is that we have to think too much of that not unimportant factor. About five-sixths of the gross revenue of the Medical Faculty are derived from students' fees; not much more than a paltry $8000 comes from interest on endowments. This is a by no means secure, far less an impregnable, position and, in my judgment, it should be remedied at the earliest possible moment. Endowments should be sought for to provide, apart from fees, the salaries of the professors who occupy the purely scientific chairs in the faculty—beginning with anatomy, and including physiology, pathology, pharmacology, hygiene—and salaries large enough to make certain that these chairs shall always be filled by the very best men obtainable. Then it is not quite creditable that lecturers and assistants should be asked to work for practically nothing. How can a young physician be expected to give whole-hearted service to the work of teaching for a few hundred dollars a year? And how can his chief exact from him even the routine duty required in his department, to say nothing of co-operation in research? Everybody knows that to become a first-class physiologist, or anatomist, or pathologist, or pharmacologist nowadays it is essential to devote one's whole time for many years to the one subject. Unless we can encourage our younger men to do this, where are we to look for successors to the present holders of chairs, and how are we to avoid the reproach of going abroad for them?

There is no need of the Medical Faculty—or, so far as I am aware, of any other Faculty—that cannot be supplied by money. Probably over half a million of dollars would be

necessary to overtake the objects to which I have referred; and the completion of the buildings—with new dissecting rooms, library, museum, etc.—as well as an adequate fund for maintenance and equipment, would call for as much again. Do not let us be dismayed by the figures. Within this last year Harvard has been assured of no less than ten million dollars for the building and fuller equipment of her medical school, and Chicago, now that the Rush Medical College has been joined to the University, is promised as much and more. There is no department of our work that has greater claims on the good-will of the public than that which centres round the art of healing. It is not more doctors that we aim at turning out, but better doctors—men who have had the best available advantages in equipping themselves for the practice of the most honourable and the most onerous of all professions. The McGill Medical Faculty has done noble work in the past, and I am confident that, as soon as its needs are properly understood, it will receive such a degree of support from an appreciative community as shall enable it to keep pace with the ever-growing demands of medical teaching and medical science.

When I say that there is no McGill want that money will not supply, I do not want to be quoted as implying that money is everything. Dollars will not create the spirit that ought to animate our work—the spirit of earnest devotion to the highest interests of the cause we serve. It is because that spirit already exists in McGill that its friends and supporters may confidently appeal for further financial aid. Gratitude for past favours need not debar us from cherishing a lively expectation of favours still to come. The present administration of the University has received some signal marks of trust and confidence. In looking back on the nine years that have passed since 1895, I cannot forget the kindness of the late Mr. John Henry Molson, who was Chairman of the Board of Governors when I came to McGill. As Chairman also of the Finance Committee, Mr. Molson had a very heavy load to carry. He knew the needs of the University in all its departments, and was greatly oppressed at times—as all finance

chairmen must be—by the constantly recurring difficulty of making both ends meet. Yet when he died, it was found that he had given the administration a most signal mark of confidence by bequeathing the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the General Endowment Fund of the University. Some of the greatest gifts he made us during his lifetime were marked by the same spirit of self-effacing devotion to the general interest. He gave the ground on which the Redpath Library stands, and (in 1893) he gave $60,000 for the purchase of land and for buildings and equipment for the Faculty of Medicine. If his name is not connected with either of these great donations, his memory remains none the less deep-graven in our hearts. It is on a portion of the lots he acquired on McTavish Street that Mrs. Peter Redpath's most welcome and valuable extension of the Library was erected in 1900.

Permit me now to indicate very briefly the lines on which the consolidation and extension of our work as a University should, according to my best judgment, be made to proceed.

I believe, in the first place, that if the time is not yet come it will soon be at hand when McGill ought very seriously to consider whether it will allow boys to go direct from school into any of the professional faculties without taking at least a partial course in Arts as a preliminary. In Medicine the curriculum has everything to gain by having physics, chemistry and biology eliminated, and taken in the Faculty of Arts as introductory. The best preparation for the law course is a preliminary study of such subjects as History and Political Science. As for the Faculty of Applied Science, if the needs of a developing country have been calling out for young engineers, the dignity of the engineering profession no less demands that they shall be as fully educated as possible. An utterance may be cited in this connexion which I once heard from the lips of President Eliot, of Harvard: "When all the leading Universities of the country require a degree in Arts or Science for admission to their professional schools—of law, medicine, divinity, teaching, architecture, and applied science —an effective support will be given to the Bachelor's degree

in Arts and Science such as has never yet been given in the United States; and the higher walks of all the professions will be filled with men who have received not only a strenuous professional training, but a broad preliminary culture". So, too, President Butler, of Columbia: "For a University to admit professional students direct from the secondary schools is to throw the weight of its influence against the spirit and ideals of college training, and to prepare for the so-called learned professions a large body of very imperfectly educated men".

This takes me back to the Faculty of Arts, in the recent reorganization of whose courses we had ever in view the aim of making an organic connexion with the several departments of professional study. One link is still wanting—the Chair of Education that is to lead up to the activity of teaching. When that has been supplied, the holder of the Chair—with the Normal School as his laboratory—will be able to impress himself upon the whole education of the province, if not of the country at large. Meanwhile any prospective donors who may prefer to help us to strengthen and to consolidate work already undertaken will allow us to remind them that the Department of Modern Languages is utterly without endowment of any kind. We ought to have two chairs here, one of Teutonic and the other of Romance Languages and Literature. The energy which Dr. Walter devoted this year to the successful organization of a summer school of French may be expected to draw fresh attention to the needs of this most important department. I say nothing of classics; that subject would need a lecture in itself. It is possible to obtain that "reasonable tincture of letters" for which Professor Macnaughton pleaded last year without any excessive devotion to classical study. But the friends of the classics may refer, with pardonable pride, to the "rush back to Latin" which is going on at present in the United States, and which seems to amount almost to a rediscovery in that country of what I have elsewhere called the logic of grammar. Another sign of the times is the establishment of two flourishing Classical Associations, the one in Scotland and the other

in England, the members of which propose not only to give reasons for the faith that is in them, but also to question others as to theirs. Personally, I should be the last to advocate the claims of classical study if these claims necessarily involved ignorance of the world we live in and of the natural phenomena that are about and around us. Education is meant to lead us into active life, not out of it. At the same time the brilliant discoveries of natural science, which have taught us much that our grandfathers did not know, need not induce the rapid inference that what our grandfathers did know must necessarily have been useless knowledge. If my own connexion with the classical department at McGill has resulted in any broader views of classical study—such as I pleaded for nine years ago—then in this department also we may claim that some progress has been made.

The fortunate settlement of the long-standing controversy with Ontario, on the subject of the recognition of McGill degrees for certain purposes in that province, induces the hope that we may witness in future a greater amount of reciprocity among Canadian Universities. In early days it was perhaps not altogether unnatural that our great educational institutions, separated from each other by immense distances, should have lived apart as it were, and should have been tempted to cultivate separate interests. This has not made for unity, either of methods or of feeling and sentiment. Now that we note some slight disposition to lower the provincial boundary-fences we may perhaps hope for better things. The Universities in various parts of the United States can agree to act together, when expedient, on matters of common interest; why should not we? It is not necessary or even advisable that all our Universities should be moulded after the same pattern. They have all their own proper work to do. Each will in all probability develop on the lines that are most suited to its circumstances and its situation. There should therefore be less rivalry, less jealousy in the future—less belittling of each other and a greater effort to present a united front in what is after all a common cause. Some people make a great bugaboo of the British North America

Act, which committed the interests of education to the several provinces. In those early days that was probably altogether a wise measure, and the Federal Government must often have had occasion since to congratulate itself that—so far as education is concerned—it could keep itself in a large measure outside the arena of provincial strife. But the education that was mainly thought of at the time of the framing of the Act was school education. The great subject of technical education, for example, had scarcely been heard of. This has been brought home to us in connexion with our new school of Railroad Engineering, which ought to be thoroughly national in character. There is certainly nothing provincial about its origin or its aims. Again, when last year we were forced by circumstances to abandon our Faculty of Veterinary Science, it was not without the hope that it might one day be revived on a larger scale. In view of the bearing of the teaching given in that Faculty on the greatest of all our national interests—the interests of agriculture—it is a matter of great regret that we should have felt obliged to relinquish it. The whole Dominion might profit by the institution, in connexion with one of our leading Universities, of a great national school of Agriculture, or Agronomics, one branch of which, as at Cornell, would be veterinary science. I am one of those who believe that it is the duty of a University to make itself of service to the country at large by associating itself with all its leading interests. In so wide a field as that there is room for all who will co-operate—room for the Federal Government, too, if it can be induced to come in.

Meanwhile we ought to cherish, in all that concerns University education, the spirit of co-operation and mutual helpfulness. The need for that in Canada was very much in my thoughts last year when I sat as your representative at an Imperial University Conference which met in London. High argument was addressed to the audience by various speakers on behalf of imperial unity in education—the dissemination of a better knowledge of what is going on in our Universities throughout the length and breadth of the Empire,

the cultivation of mutual interests, the furtherance of common aims, a sort of federation of the Empire, in fact, through education. I could not help thinking, as I listened, that here in Canada we had better begin at home. The times are not unfavourable for such a rapprochement. We must not let the Empire get ahead of the Dominion. Here in McGill we have accustomed ourselves to take wide and broad views. That is why we have special reason to rejoice in everything that tends to promote the unification of our national interests, both in act and in sentiment. There have always been some who felt a difficulty over the fact that the educational institutions of the Colonies have been manned to a large extent from the great British Universities. Now the tide is beginning to flow the other way. Only a few months ago the Royal Society of London came to McGill to borrow Professor Rutherford for the purposes of the Bakerian Lecture. And along with the first flight of Rhodes scholars to Oxford goes our most illustrious alumnus Dr. William Osler. This process of interchange will doubtless go on increasing as the years roll on. "The result," as our friend Dr. Parkin writes in a paper which he has just forwarded to me, "the result cannot be otherwise than healthy and inspiring. Able men in the Motherland will go abroad more readily when they know that distinction won there counts at the centre. Able men born abroad in the Colonies will know that the pathway to recognition is freely open to them in whatever corner of the Empire they may happen to be. Everything of this kind counts for the unification of the nation, in work, in interest, in sentiment. It makes for continuity as well. The distinguished Canadian man of science, coming to hold up at Oxford his lamp of knowledge lighted there in the thirteenth century by Roger Bacon, is a truer prophecy of the future of the Empire, we may fairly hope, than Macaulay's New Zealander contemplating the ruins of St. Paul's from a broken arch of London Bridge."

Members of Convocation, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have made it my aim in this address to gather up the lessons of our recent past, and to estimate the educational position

which we find McGill occupying after three-quarters of a century of almost uninterrupted teaching. We have much reason to rejoice together over what has already been accomplished, and also to go forward with good hope into the future. In point of solid progress we could hardly wish the record other than it has been. McGill stands deservedly high among the learned institutions of the Dominion and of the Empire. In this respect it never stood higher than it does to-day. But it is a trite remark that learning is not everything; not all knowledge is power. Perhaps in the time to come, with the greater social advantages that are now to be at the command of the student body—with our Union, and let us hope, soon too, our Halls of Residence—the university may come to be as widely known as a school of manners, in the broad sense of the term, as it is at present for learning and solid work. You know the old motto of William of Wykeham, who founded Winchester and New College, Oxford: "Manners makyth man". Too little attention is paid in our educational programmes to the upbuilding of character. When we think of the unspeakable importance of the years which our young men spend at college, as a preparation for their after life, our hearts must yearn to do more for them than under present conditions we are able to accomplish. Manners are formed and personality is built up in the school of life—even the student school. Honesty, purity, reverence—all the moral virtues, in fact, are just as important for the youth of a country as are learning and scholarship. "Manners makyth man." We want to have a hall-mark for McGill men, by which they may be known and recognized all the world over. It lies with our students themselves to set the standard. What we wish to do is to give them all the help we can to make the most of their advantages while they are with us. College days are soon over, and they leave with the individual either the satisfaction of strenuous effort or the memory of neglected opportunities. "How truly it is in man," as Mr. Gladstone said to the students at Edinburgh, "in man, and not in his circumstances, that the secret of his destiny resides. For

most of you that destiny will take its final bent towards evil or towards good, not from the information you imbibe, but from the habits of mind, thought, and life that you shall acquire during your academic career. Could you, with the bodily eye, watch the moments of it as they fly, you would see them all pass by you, as the bee that has rifled the heather bears its honey through the air, charged with the promise, or it may be with the menace, of the future. In many things it is wise to believe before experience; to believe until you may know; and believe me when I tell you that the thrift of time will repay you in after life with an usury of profit beyond your most sanguine dreams, and that the waste of it will make you dwindle, alike in intellectual and in moral stature, beneath your darkest reckonings."

A SESSIONAL ADDRESS.[1]

This meeting is intended, as has been the custom for some years past, to mark the beginning of a new academic year. We come together to inaugurate it, as it were; and I am expected to give an Inaugural or Opening Address. Some people don't like the word "inaugurate". Perhaps they think it savours of superstition. It is certainly one of those words which contain within themselves something of what has been called fossil history! For it reminds us, does it not, of what was a settled custom, a fixed habit, with the ancient Romans—something that was, in fact, so customary and habitual with them that in the end it degenerated, like many other outward observances, into a pure formality. The Romans never entered on any serious undertaking without first taking the auspices, in order to ascertain the will of heaven. They consulted the omens, and "auspicated" all their proceedings—an even more classical word than "inaugurate". Academic practice varies in different countries. On this side of the Atlantic it is usual to select the close of the session for giving what are called "Commencement" Addresses. For that also there is said to be a reason in history. And so, though I can scarcely presume to consult the omens as to whether the football team is to retain the championship this year, or as to the probability of some windfall coming our way that may enable us to begin the construction of a gymnasium and student residences on the new campus, I can proceed to inaugurate, in my own way, the session 1913-4. After all, the skill of the Roman augur consisted not so much in managing to see things as in interpreting what he saw.

[1] Delivered at the opening of the McGill Session, 1 October, 1913.

Well, this opening talk is something that I have often given before, and whether in this Assembly Hall or in some other surroundings the scene begins to have quite a familiar look. Let us hope that what I have to say to you will not appear unduly stereotyped, or too much after the pattern of a hardy annual. Most of you have been with us in past sessions. You have come back, teachers and students alike, from what I am sure I may call the strenuous idleness of the long vacation, to a further period of work and study. Even if I have said it before, believe me that I speak with equal sincerity to-day when I express the hope that you may all find the greatest possible satisfaction in the work of your several departments. I had almost said your "self-appointed tasks"; and that would have reminded me to say a word, which ought perhaps to be specially addressed to new-comers, as to the essential difference between school and college work. It is not all that I may have to say to the freshmen, but it will do for a beginning. They know with what anxious hearts we follow their doings, both in and out of college, in the earlier part of the session. Our thoughts are with them day and night—especially sometimes at night! The Freshmen Class this year will, I am sure, remember that the good name of McGill is largely in their keeping, and will carefully refrain from any ebullitions outside the limits of the campus, either by day or by night, that may interfere with the comfort or convenience of their fellow-citizens. Of course it takes a little time to get accustomed to the full blaze of student greatness. You come up from school where discipline rules supreme, and obedience to authority, to find yourselves suddenly in the enjoyment of a full measure of what we may call ordered freedom. The remedy for any incipient lawlessness is, I think, to be found in reflection on the differences between school and college. From being pupils and wards you have become partners. You are responsible, along with us, for the credit of the firm. And not only for the standing it may enjoy in the community, but also for the progress it may make with the special business entrusted to it. I always like to think of students and professors in a

University—certainly in the higher stages of the curriculum —as joint-partners in a common enterprise. They are heirs to the learning of all the ages, and they co-operate in a united effort to make it their own.

McGill has a great asset in its staff as well as in its students. The trouble at present is that owing mainly to the great advance in the cost of living we cannot always keep the good men who come to us. I hope you all shared the pride I felt on reading the other day that Madame Curie, whom Sir Oliver Lodge described as the greatest woman of science in all time, had exhorted the British Association to keep its eye on our late colleague Rutherford, as the physicist from whose laboratory wonder-working discoveries were most likely in the near future to proceed. It is a great thing for McGill to have had Rutherford on her staff, even if only for eight or nine years. And I was glad to see that Dr. McBride, who left us still more recently, has obtained a well-deserved promotion in the Imperial College of Science. I make the confident statement that one of the elements in the recent progress of McGill, and one that, as much as anything else, has attracted attention to her as a great University, is the fact that it has been known all over the English-speaking world that, when there was an appointment to be made at McGill, the Board of Governors could be relied upon to make it without fear or favour, and after a patient and painstaking investigation of the claims and qualifications of possible candidates on both sides of the Atlantic.

I need not attempt to enumerate here the new appointments which take effect this session, and which have been filled in each and every case by men well qualified to do good work in their several departments. * * * *

The mere mention of these departments may serve to remind us how varied and how widespread are the operations of a great University, and how essential it is that they be held together by a consciousness of common aims and a common purpose. We are all members one of another, and it ought to be a source of much gratification that the feeling of inter-dependence and community of interest, in the different

faculties and departments, seems at McGill to be steadily on the increase. Let us strive to do everything in our power still further to strengthen and develop that feeling. For only thus can we become colleagues, in the full and true sense of the word; and only in this way can we present a united front to the community on whose interest and good-will we are so dependent for further progress and future success.

There is general agreement to-day that the aim and purpose of a University may be fitly described under three heads: *first*, teaching; *second*, research and investigation; *third*, influence on the community in which it does its work. The first is of supreme importance—as every undergraduate knows. If we failed to teach, and to teach well, we should be turning our backs on what is, after all, the main reason for our existence. It follows of course immediately from this that our students, on whom we exercise our gifts of teaching, are—along with ourselves—the most indispensable element in the whole make-up of the University. This needs no argument. The only extension of the statement that might seem to be called for is that by teaching we do not merely mean the pouring of information down open throats, but the discipline of learning. And even outside our lecture-rooms and laboratories, there are various agencies, including student activities themselves, by means of which much may be done in the way of building up character and strengthening personality. "Let character grow with knowledge." But—to return to the second point—teaching is enlivened and informed by the spirit of original research and the habit of investigation; and one of the ideals of the McGill administration is that the leading positions on the teaching staff shall be in the hands of those who have shown themselves capable, by such research, of advancing our knowledge of their subject and of taking rank, in this way, with fellow-workers all over the world.

What I have described as the third of the functions of a University is for McGill and Montreal at the present juncture of almost equal importance. We are carrying on our operations in the midst of a large centre of population with which

it is at once our duty and our interest to cultivate the closest possible relations. For from such relations much benefit may be derived by both. It is an interesting feature of the growth of English democracy that large industrial centres like Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, and Bristol have insisted—practically within the last generation—on possessing each a University of its own. The civic University is, in fact, a new birth of these later days. If anyone is in doubt as to the explanation of this phenomenon, he has only to ask himself what these cities would be without their University. They would of course be great in commerce and industry, in manufacturing enterprise and material prosperity; but they would lack the institution which is the centralized expression of their aspirations after things that are higher than these, and which enables them to rank with world-famous centres of learning. In each of the cities I have named the local institution is an object of civic pride, and systematic efforts are made, even to the extent in some cases of an addition to the rates, to secure that adequate resources shall be forthcoming for its maintenance and development. It is recognized that the University will give back to the community, in ever-growing measure, as much at least as it receives from it. For not only does it increase and enhance local prestige and dignity, but it guarantees equality of educational opportunity to all who are born within its sphere of influence. And it helps to enlarge the number of those who are the best products of busy and populous centres—the men of affairs who, while strenuously engaged in their special avocations, yet feel the impulse to cultivate other tastes and interests.

McGill has largely profited in the past not only by the generosity of our great men of business, but also by the practical sagacity they have shown in the direction of its affairs. We are not so homogeneous a community as those which exist in the English cities I have named, and we are debarred by obvious reasons from actually claiming to be the civic University of Montreal. But McGill is by far the most important and the most valuable asset in the common life of the

English-speaking element in our population, and we cannot doubt that as such it will continue to be cherished and well cared for. Signs have not been wanting of late—the financial campaign of November, 1911 was in itself enough to prove it—that the alliance between city and University is growing closer and stronger. As McGill becomes more serviceable to its friends and supporters, and as they in turn get to be more conscious of common aims and interests, the future may be relied on to reproduce and even to eclipse the record of the past. There has been a great growth of public spirit in Montreal within recent years. Those who used to complain that the University was "not sufficiently in touch with the community" will do well to ponder the significance of this phrase. It is difficult to get into touch with what does not exist—or rather with what, if it did exist, was so rapidly passing beyond normal limits that it had some difficulty in realizing its corporate being. That is being cured now—as we may see even from the greater care that is bestowed on our streets. We seem to have more "civic pride" about us now. The next thing is for us in the University to strike the imagination of the community, and make it more than ever proud of McGill. It was a good thing for the reputation and also for the material well-being of Bologna when the guilds of students established themselves there. So it ought to be with us in Montreal. I had a letter the other day from one of our friends, the wording of which betrayed a belief that McGill did not "really need money". It struck me at the time that he must be somewhat lacking in imagination. He seemed to think, or to wish to think, that our University is now complete. What about the new campus, you will ask, and the need for student-residences, a new gymnasium, larger endowments to provide better professorial salaries, especially in view of the great advance in the cost of living, an additional engineering building, and the other things which are always carefully enumerated in the Annual Report?

Harvard is an older foundation than McGill, and by this way of reckoning ought to have been complete long ago.

But even after three centuries of growth Harvard is still developing, and never before in its whole history has it had so many buildings under way at once as it has at present. Apart from unconsidered trifles in the way of gifts last session, amounting to over one million dollars, it was put in a position to undertake new construction to the extent of more than four millions, as follows: Library, $2,000,000; freshman-dormitories, $1,500,000; stadium bridge, $200,000; music building, $100,000; museum extension, $100,000; engineering laboratory, $100,000; herbarium, $56,500: total, $4,056,500. We may well be proud to have McGill mentioned in the same breath with an institution which can command material resources such as these. McGill spent last year on all its various operations, including Macdonald College, about $700,000, while Harvard was able to dispose of a revenue of about two and a half millions.

But we have much to be thankful for. After all, size is not everything: the greatest thing is to keep going on the highest attainable level. And Montreal is showing an ever-increasing tendency to be generous towards works of charity and philanthropic effort. Though confined perhaps to a relatively small circle of donors, subscriptions to such objects are always readily obtainable, and are generally accompanied with a measure of personal interest that doubles the value of every gift. It is true that during my eighteen years' residence in the city I have noted a long succession of vast estates passing from hand to hand, on the death of a testator, without much thought of the public need that furnishes—or ought to furnish—the private opportunity. But there have been exceptions. I had the pleasure of informing you last year of the bequest by which the late Mr. R. J. Wickstead had left his whole estate to his Alma Mater for the endowment of physical education. His generous example was followed by another lawyer—the late Mr. Cramp, who acted so long as the College notary. Mr. Cramp put McGill down in his will for a third of his estate. And only the other day we were greatly gratified to learn that a member of the Board of Governors, the late Mr. James Ross,

had remembered McGill University in his will to the extent of one hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Ross was one of our friends. His connexion with the administration of the University had given him many opportunities of appreciating the difficulty of carrying on an institution whose needs, in the very nature of things, are always outrunning its resources; and his kindly thought of us has touched a chord in our hearts that vibrates with gratitude and appreciation. It is a melancholy pleasure to record also our indebtedness to Mr. Ross for much help and advice given as a member of the governing body of the University, especially in the department of mechanical engineering. Besides being a great and experienced engineer, he was a patron of the arts and sciences. He took an active interest also in the well-being of our hospitals; and as they are in a sense University institutions his bequests to the Royal Victoria and Maternity Hospitals may be cited here as additional reasons for gratitude. He was a man of high artistic culture, one who "loved that beauty should go beautifully". Mere splendour without taste would always have been repellent to him. Perhaps his best memorial, apart from the magnificent collection of pictures which he got together with such care and discrimination, and which was the joy and pride of his wide circle of friends, will be the beautiful building on Sherbrooke Street to which he has contributed so largely as the permanent home of the Art Association.

Such men lend valuable aid in the way of enabling a community to realize some aspects of its higher self, and it is one of the functions of a civic University, as has been already said, to help in the coming time to increase their number. No matter how greatly engrossed individuals may be in their special avocations, there is always something outside them that will amply repay attention. If I were called in to prescribe for cases where the need of some external interest was felt in order to relieve the monotony of concentrated effort and specialized endeavour, I should make bold to recommend attention to one or more of the branches of our Graduate School, at present wholly without support,

and yet capable by further development of conferring the highest distinction on both the University and the city. You all know how some of the greatest triumphs of modern invention have owed everything to the patient and unselfish research-work of the professor in his laboratory. And yet research is quite the most unremunerative department of professorial effort. It stands greatly in need of generous patronage if it is to be put on a sound basis. In commenting on the fact that the State spends no more than £200,000 per annum (one million dollars) on University education in England and Wales (outside Oxford and Cambridge)—an amount only slightly in excess of what is devoted to a single University in Germany—Principal Griffiths, of the University College of South Wales, went on to tell the British Association the other day how greatly this militated against the possibility of sufficient provision for research.

"When you reflect," said he, "on the magnitude of the results which would inevitably follow an adequate encouragement of research, the irony of the position becomes more evident. It is stated on authority that Pasteur during his lifetime saved for his country the whole cost of the Franco-Prussian War."

"It should be our mission," he went on to say, "to make evident to the working-man his indebtedness to the pioneers of science. Demonstrate to him the close connexion between the price of his meat and the use of refrigerating processes founded on the investigations of Joule and Thomson; between the purity of his beer—this for the Englishman!—and the labours of Pasteur. Show the collier that his safety is to no small extent due to Humphrey Davy; the driver of the electric tramcar that his wages were coined by Faraday. Make the worker in steel realize his obligation to Bessemer and Nasmyth; the telegraphist his indebtedness to Volta and Wheatstone; and the man at the 'wireless' station that his employment is due to Hertz. Tell the soldier that the successful extraction of the bullet he received during the South African War was accomplished by the aid of Röntgen. Convince the sailor that his good 'landfall'

was achieved by the help of mathematicians and astronomers; that Tyndall had much to do with the brilliancy of the lights which warned him of danger, and that to Kelvin he owed the perfection of his compass and sounding-line. Impress upon all wage-earners the probability that had it not been for the researches of Lister, they, or some member of their family, would not be living to enjoy the fruits of their labours. If we could but bring some 5 per cent of our voters to believe that their security, their comfort, their health are the fruits of scientific investigation, then—but not until then—should we see the attitude of those in authority towards this great question of the encouragement of research change from indifference to enthusiasm and from opposition to support. When we have educated the man in the street it is possible that we may succeed in the hardest task—that of educating our legislators."

Here in Canada we are barred from looking for so large a measure of state-aid as the speaker is pleading for in England, and this makes it all the more necessary that we should do what we can to strike the imagination, as I have said, of individual supporters, and to enlist the general good-will of the community. Principal Griffiths is a man of science, and he approaches his problem from the standpoint natural to him. But here in McGill we are under a special obligation not to forget the other manifestations of the human spirit. We cannot turn a dull ear to the mighty voices that speak to us from the pages of the past, or ignore the messages that reach us from poets and bards, singers and seers, orators, philosophers, dramatists, and statesmen. It is charged against our present stage of civilization that it is unduly material. One well-known critic of Canadian conditions says that the shriek of the railway-whistle and the atmosphere of the counting-house are too much with us, and that as a consequence we have no song to give the world. Personally I think that things are greatly improving in this regard, and that for the improvement we have to thank, in large measure, the Universities. But we must continue to insist, in every department of work, on that adequate founda-

tion of general culture which is so desirable not only in itself, but also as a means of co-ordinating and co-relating the special studies which succeed it. Some of it ought, of course, to be acquired at school. But I do not like to hear of boys of tender years passing straight from school into the professional study of law and medicine—to say nothing of applied science.

Time I know is short, and opportunity is waiting ; but if no further training is secured, before the special study is begun, in such subjects as English, history, economics, logic, and modern languages, it will never be secured at all. If one subject has to be chosen out of many, let it be history: there is nothing that will so effectually counteract any narrowing tendencies in the professional career of lawyer, doctor, or engineer as to have a wide outlook upon history. And this reminds me to commend to those who are responsible for the general course given in our first year a little book just published at Oxford, entitled "The Living Past". The author, Mr. F. S. Marvin, has been specially successful in drawing from each of the periods that he passes in brief and picturesque review those lessons that ought to be impressed on the minds of all. The book gives, in fact, that sense of historical perspective without which I have always contended that no one can claim to be properly educated. Sir Oliver Lodge said at Birmingham the other day that he "saw the whole of material existence as a steady passage from past to future, only the single instant which we call the present being actual". And surely without taking geologic time into account—compared with which historic time is but a point or a dot—the most interesting part of the whole process is for us the Ascent of Man, now the heir of all the ages, but discovered at first, long before historical records begin, making his way painfully upwards, by the help of stone, and bronze, and iron, from childhood to adolescence, and then emerging after tens of thousands of years into the light of history as we know it to-day. Every educated man, and woman too, ought to know, at least in outline, the story of the early Empires of the East, and of the Greeks and Romans,

the lessons of the Middle Ages, of the Renaissance and the rise of modern science, of the industrial, social, and political changes which were afterwards brought to pass, and of the main lines of progress achieved during the last hundred years. All this, with a most useful bibliography, the general reader will find in the little volume I am commending to your notice.

There are some special points on which I had meant briefly to touch if it were not for the fear of trespassing unduly on your patience. When we had Lord Haldane with us the other day—along with our venerable Chancellor Lord Strathcona, and a group of distinguished men the like of which has seldom been seen on this or any University platform—I could not help remembering that, some years before he became Lord High Chancellor, Viscount Haldane had made himself responsible for the scheme we are trying to reproduce here in our Officers' Training Corps. If we had been in session at that time, and your Corps could have turned out to greet him, I am sure the former Secretary of War would have beamed on it with a certain amount of what may be called paternal pride. Those who understand this movement, based as it is on the most scientific methods of military training, will be glad to see it taking its place more and more within the sphere of our University work, which it, in fact, expands and supplements. If discipline is a good thing, and the habit of obedience to authority, the student will get it here in acceptable form, and physical exercise as well. I have always thought that it was a great compliment to the University when Lord Haldane brought forward his project for securing a reserve of officers by drawing on the splendid material provided by large bodies of educated young men, who could be trained under proper direction and supervision to take command as officers in any great emergency. Our Corps made a highly satisfactory beginning last year, and with the new Drill Hall promised for its exclusive use, I look forward to a considerable development in its numbers and usefulness.

On all other recognized forms of student activity I should

like to bestow a similar blessing, both those which care for the body and those which look after the things of the mind. The want of a gymnasium will, I fear, be greatly felt by many, and we must just keep talking about it till we get one. The Canadian Club speaks of holding its first meeting in connexion with the University Lecture, which is to be delivered by Sir Gilbert Parker on Monday of next week. Then there is the Mock Parliament, which has done so much to stimulate interest in public affairs. I am not sure that I do not like it much better than I like your Liberal and Conservative Clubs; Aristotle held that young men were not fit students of moral philosophy, and I am sure he would have considered it needlessly precipitate for undergraduates to range themselves on all questions under opposing banners.

I need not tell you how heartily we wish you all success on the football field and the hockey rink. My only regret is that the lookers-on at those games so greatly outnumber the players. Do not be satisfied with merely looking on, but contrive to get a certain amount of regular exercise yourselves on each day of the week. The healthful habits you may form now will stand you in good stead in after life. And the same thing should be said of the cultivation of intellectual tastes and aptitudes. Remember that the higher you aim in life the better your educational preparation should be. Join with us in trying to make Montreal prouder than ever before that she should be able to furnish such a preparation within the halls of "Old McGill". And bear yourselves while you are here in such a way that you may be able to look back with satisfaction hereafter on the institution which helped to mould your lives, giving you not only that knowledge which is power, but the impulse also and the inspiration that will set your feet in high places.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.[1]

THE friends of education and (so far as it shows its interest) the general public have frequent opportunities of admiring the spirit in which teachers devote part of their hardly won leisure to reunions such as this. It might be thought that you would be only too glad to get away from the somewhat wearing associations of your daily work. But the feeling of brotherhood is strong in your hearts—the feeling which was referred to this morning as that which inspires the "goodly fellowship of teachers"; and it is the experience of all countries that so long as these meetings are held with the single-minded aim of advancing the interests of education, and not for the purpose of providing what has been called a "dumping ground for the faddist and the axe-grinder," they will always continue to prove a valuable source of stimulus and inspiration.

The pressure of other engagements has been so often my excuse for declining your invitations that I was almost shamed into accepting the one which reached me this year. And I had besides another motive. It is very often imputed as a fault to University men that they hold themselves aloof from the work of public schools, and that they are either ignorant of, or indifferent to the conditions which obtain there. For myself, I cannot plead guilty to this charge. If there be one truth that seems to need more emphasis than another, especially at the present day, it is the essential unity of all education. A good deal of mischief has been done in England by the hard and fast line that is drawn, with consequent social cleavage, between the elementary teacher and the

[1] An address delivered before the Ontario Educational Association, 5 April, 1904.

teacher in a secondary school. But even in England this prejudice is tending to disappear, and it will disappear all the sooner if the nation can be roused to a consciousness of the far-reaching opportunities of national service that lie within the reach of the primary teacher. In the colonies, less hampered as they are by social traditions, there should be no room for such a prejudice. But it is unfortunately just here in Canada that I have found, in my own experience, evidence of a desire to set one department of education against another, to stir up class feeling, to trade on the diversity of interests that separate rural schools from city schools, and to unite all alike in somewhat unintelligent and uninstructed criticism of our Universities. That is certainly not the direction in which things are moving in the Old Country, where there is a growing conviction—both in England and in Scotland—that there should be no impassable gulf between the Universities and the elementary schools, and where, through the medium of their Day Training Colleges, the Universities are getting a larger share of the business of turning out fully equipped teachers of all grades. It will not do our elementary teachers any good to encourage them in a low estimate of the value of University training, or to praise a condition of things in which the large mass of pupils whose education finishes in the public schools may get a great part of their teaching from persons whose qualifications are little in advance of their own. Probably you will at once make up your minds that I am a reactionary; but I want to record my conviction at the start that in a well-ordered system the University ought to have the opportunity—if only it will use it wisely and well—of associating itself with the whole scheme of national education, and of giving all the light and leading which it may be capable of supplying.

Take, for instance, the question of the school curriculum. It would surely be a remarkable discovery for the twentieth century to make that the subjects to which Universities attach importance in their entrance examinations, as indispensable to sound education, are *not*, after all, the subjects which should occupy the largest place in the programme of the

schools. Such an attitude—assuming that the Universities are not entirely astray as to what constitutes sound education—would seem to render impossible of realization the continuous and well-graded scheme which should be the aim of all our educational endeavour. The fact is that two opposing forces are here at work. There is a party—strongly represented, I understand, in Ontario—which aims at assimilating the higher reaches of school education to the lower by giving less weight to languages, as well as to algebra and geometry; while others would lay a better foundation for the study of these subjects in the high school by making some provision for them also in the later years of the elementary course. For myself, I am at a loss to see how the "career open to the talents" can be secured to the children of the poor as well as of the rich without taking account of this latter view. Apart altogether from the consequent enrichment of the public school curriculum, and from the additional inducement thus offered to continued study in the high school, I do not consider it wise to draw so hard and fast a line between the upper and the lower reaches of school education, and in this way to segregate, as it were, in separate departments those who for one reason or another desire to carry their work beyond the ordinary public school course. It may well be feared that under new conditions we shall see an increase rather than a decrease in the number of those pupils who present themselves for matriculation at a University without ever having studied any language except English, and of whom we have found by actual experience that they "ask for special consideration because they were actually debarred by the conditions of the school they attended—otherwise excellently well-equipped—from taking up any language save their mother-tongue".

The fact that so great a bone of contention should offer itself almost at the outset of the inquiry may well suggest a doubt as to the wisdom of my choice of a title for this paper. For how can there be such a thing as national education so long as those most concerned have no agreement amongst themselves? Especially here in Canada it might almost

appear as though to speak of national education would be a contradiction in terms. For is not Canadian education necessarily provincial, and might not one dispose of the whole subject of my paper within the limits of the celebrated chapter "On Snakes in Iceland"? When I say "provincial" I hope no one will imagine that the term is necessarily a disparaging one, or that I wish to imply that any one part of Canada is more "provincial" than another. I am glad to know that you have your Dominion Educational Association, which is to meet this summer at Winnipeg. There you have a much-needed opportunity of comparing the different conditions under which you teach in the several provinces, and of considering the points of contact and contrast between those conditions and true educational ideals. But we all heard what kind of a reception was given at the 1901 meeting—notably by an official representative of my own province of Quebec—to the proposal that the proceedings of that association should be crystallized, as it were, in a Dominion Bureau of Education. Those who are afraid of overcentralization may continue to feel the comforting assurance that, under the British North America Act, there can be no danger of having any artificial and uniform type of education imposed on the whole country, such as is complained of, for example, in France at the present day.[1]

Even apart from that constitutional difficulty, there will be no possibility of reaching any dead level of uniformity in a country where the opinion of the average parent on educational issues is advanced just as confidently as that of any expert. This phenomenon is not altogether unnatural in a new country; but it must work woeful havoc with the theories of those who seek to prove that there is a universally

[1] It is interesting to compare the ideal which is cherished in the United States: "In the United States there is, broadly speaking, uniformity of tradition, of government, of civilization, and the educated youth of San Francisco bears about the same relation to the world as the educated youth of Boston; hence, so far as elementary and secondary education is pursued, there is no reason why it should not be substantially the same in various schools—not in details belonging to the individual teacher, but in paper requirements and important features of methods".—Baker, "Education and Life," p. 63.

applicable science of education, whose laws are just as immutable as those, for instance, of chemistry and mechanics. Such views seem all the more difficult when we are from time to time reminded that we must take into account the varying factor of human nature and individual volition,—and not on the part of the child only, but also as proceeding from the parent.

But though education must ever be conditioned by the particular circumstances of the nation, the teacher, the family and the child—and let us not forget the climate, too!—it may well be that there are certain fixed principles which admit of more or less general application.[1] It ought never to be forgotten, to begin with, that all education should be a training of faculty. Its essential aim should be "to develop and train the natural powers of the mind; to make it quick, observing, apprehensive, accurate, logical; able to understand argument; able to search out facts for itself, and draw from them the proper conclusions; to reason, and to understand reasoning; in one word, to think" (Professor G. G. Ramsay). It is almost a platitude to say that the real test of efficiency in education is not the accumulation of data or the acquisition of knowledge, but the development of intellectual power. What seems to be more in need of emphasis—especially in view of the clamour for what are known as "soft subjects"—is that in the elementary stages this cannot be attained without a certain amount of drudgery. Only through earnest application, bestowed sometimes even on what may seem to be an uncongenial subject, will the pupil form those habits of attention, concentration, accuracy and thoroughness which lay the indispensable foundation of further progress. Competent critics have not hesitated to say that smattering and superficiality are the curse of our school education. We plume ourselves on being "alive" and "up-to-date," and we

[1] Report of the Chief Superintendent of Education in New Brunswick, 1903, p. lix: "There are many educational problems which are not merely provincial but national; and perhaps there is no more effective agency for the cultivation of a national spirit and the quickening of true patriotism than an interchange of thought and sentiment among the educators of widely separated provinces of the united country".

use high-sounding phrases about "relating the work of the class-room to the work of life". This leads to the introduction into the curriculum of stenography and typewriting, which are hailed as being much more "vivid and vital" than any "dead languages". But should we not lay to heart the warnings addressed to us by those who are entitled to speak with authority on the subject?

Let me quote two from England and one from the United States. "Do not overload the curriculum," said Sir Joshua Fitch, "by multiplying the number of necessary subjects, but hold fast resolutely by the recognized and staple subjects which experience has shown to have the best formative value; secure a definite proportion of hours to those subjects, and for the rest of the available time provide as many forms of intellectual and other activity as your appliances and teaching staff have at command." And again: "The mental gymnastic afforded by a complete devotion to one chosen subject, which taxes all the powers of the student to the utmost, is far superior to that furnished by a half-hearted study of a dozen incongruous things. When the training has once been received, the mind, strengthened rather than cramped by the limits within which it has been working, may expatiate with profit over a wider field; but the training is the main thing" (Professor A. S. Wilkins). Or take this from a report of one of the American Committees of Twelve: "(The tendency to lengthen the Latin course by extending it down into the elementary schools) had its origin in a growing conviction that the ends of education, at least in the earlier stages, are best subserved by the concentration of effort upon a limited number of leading studies, properly correlated, rather than by the scattering of energies over an indefinite range of loosely related subjects".

The view thus set forth should, I take it, be accepted as one of the fixed principles of national education everywhere, and it may confidently be set against much current talk. Making every allowance for adjustment of details in different localities, and for different classes of pupils, there is surely an a priori probability that the subjects which *modern* Uni-

versities require for entrance are, in the main, the subjects which ought to form the staple of a good general education.

But, say the critics, this is to assume that "what is good preparation for entrance into the Freshman class in College is equally good for the boy who is to be a farmer, or the girl who is to manage a farm-home. . . . To teach in the elementary schools what is simply taken up in College or University is not sound in principle. The old academic methods are out of place with young children."[1] This is only partially true. Special teaching must, of course, be provided in connexion with special courses, but farmers need, just as much as others, training in habits of accuracy, and much of what is valuable in the traditional curriculum will be quite as valuable for them as for others. There are some subjects that must be adhered to for all pupils; it is the methods of teaching that will always afford room for improvement. We can all subscribe to the definite and concrete recommendations made, for instance, by President Eliot, of Harvard, when (in his little book entitled "More Money for the Schools") he pleads for "more observation studies, less arithmetic[2] and a little more geography; less spelling and grammar and more literature; wiser teaching of geography as a natural-history subject, and not on account of obsolete or trivial political divisions and a list of names of bays, capes, rivers, mountains and capitals; a better teaching of history as a story of discoveries, industries, commerce, peoples and institutions, and not of battles and dynasties".

With much that seems somewhat more vague and inconclusive, Sir Oliver Lodge makes similar criticisms in his recent paper on "School Reform" ("Contemporary Review," February, 1904). His main subject is the English public schools, which, while admitting their achievements in producing that mental and moral balance which we know as

[1] Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario), 1903.

[2] I should be inclined to say *much less* arithmetic, which is said to take up sometimes as much as one-third of a teacher's whole time. After a certain stage this subject is apt to degenerate into vain repetition, but it is persisted in—to the prejudice of higher subjects—because it is easy.

character, he seems to consider a contemptible training ground for a boy's *intellect*. They turn out boys, according to Sir Oliver Lodge, of whom it can be said that they "neither possess knowledge, nor do they know how to acquire it, nor do they as a rule feel an interest in it, nor do they respect it". It is obvious that the writer is thinking here mainly of scientific knowledge. He laments in more than one passage the gross ignorance which prevails among average persons of the "fundamentals of natural knowledge".

Apart from a comparison of the efficacy of ancient and modern languages as teaching disciplines, his paper is mainly taken up with suggestions for the remedy to be applied to this deplorable state of things. Incidentally, it is instructive to note that he thinks that a knowledge of the facts of nature is "so easy that some acquaintance with them can be got even through the medium of an occasional popular lecture". Nor is he at all in love with what are called "modern sides". The teaching he advocates should not be given on a modern or any other side; it should be put along with the three R's and the mother tongue, as something that everybody ought to know, if the average man is to be enabled to understand the great applications of science and to follow the trend of modern discovery. But it is not enough merely to "superimpose on what is already taught the facts of science," though this is what Sir Oliver elsewhere (p. 154) refers to as "real education," viz., what can easily be now taught about the world and the forces of nature; what enables a man to "think and ascertain truth for himself". If this were all, it could readily be shown that, while avoiding the pretentious sham of undertaking to teach at school all the known sciences, physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, physiology, and the rest, few modern centres of school education are content to ignore the importance of elementary science teaching.[1] It may well be

[1] "The teaching of science should not . . . for the majority of boys be a technical drill in detailed facts and modes of measurement, which may be as dull and unremunerative as was a grind through the Latin grammar of my youth. The science taught to all the children should be of a stimulating and invigorat-

that enough has not been done in this direction; and there must be some quarters where more heed should be paid to Sir Oliver Lodge's criticism that "as a rule no attempt is made first to awaken curiosity and hunger for knowledge, and then to supply it; no attempt is made to get children to seek knowledge for themselves and show them how to do it, especially how to glean facts from nature at first hand; how to get into contact with real and vitalizing sources of supply in the true spirit of scientific inquiry; that spirit which hereafter may lead some of them, as it has led many self-taught men, to the discovery of truths new to the world".

Elsewhere, however, Sir Oliver's paper seems to be a wholesale invective against current methods of teaching, rather than subjects. And here he by no means confines his attention to those whom you in Ontario call the "Latinists".[1] Listen to what he says of mathematics: "A dreary laying of foundations and grinding away at tedious details of unnecessary arithmetic and antique geometry is worse than a waste of time; it covers the subject with legitimate dislike. If a boy is going to be an architect, every detail of joint and tenon and mortise and cement and foundation must be known to him, but the average citizen wishes to know enough architecture to realize the beauty of old churches, the interest and

ing description. It should deal with fundamentals and essentials, it should be observational, and as a rule should leave technical details to those with special aptitudes and powers."

[1] Sir Oliver Lodge rightly satirizes the "ridiculous catch questions on out-of-the-way points of scholarship, or trivialities which no one need know except specialists," which sometimes form too large an element in examination papers. That these are often put unintelligently, as well, may be seen from the following reminiscence by Mr. E. B. Sargant, Education Adviser to Lord Milner in South Africa. "To this day I cannot forget the indignation I felt when the head master of the first boarding-school to which I was sent, asked me, in regard to a certain Latin noun, why it was feminine. Failing to obtain an answer, he told me triumphantly that the reason was that that word was in the list of exceptions to the rule, that all nouns of the third declension having a certain termination were masculine. Even a little boy of ten years of age, in his first year of Latin, could realize that the Romans had not prophetically made the noun feminine in order that it might be placed in a list of exceptions compiled by an obscure grammarian some thousands of years afterwards."

meaning of a modern building, to be able to appreciate the skill of construction and the meaning of the ornamentation and design. All this is better for him than a perpetual grubbing away at foundations without lifting his eyes. Let the solid ground be reserved for specialists with special aptitudes, and let others know enough to be able to consult a specialist hereafter and understand his answer. So with mathematics—let us give to children some beauty and range of this mighty subject, and cast our hogsheads, our furlongs, our poles, together with our scruples and our drams, into the depths of the sea, there to remain till by old age they have become interesting fossils, whereas now they are disgusting corpses."

In common with every educationist who knows what he is talking about, Sir Oliver Lodge protests against the notion that there is any *training of faculty* in giving pupils a smattering of many things. On the contrary, he is all for thoroughness and efficiency. "Some one subject," he says, "should be taught thoroughly up to the capacity of the youth to receive it, so as to show what strenuous study and real knowledge really are." But just when one is expecting something definite,[1] he goes on: "I am not prepared to say what that subject is which would best suit the majority of average boys, nor even whether there is one subject that could be generally utilized for that purpose". And in another place, by way of a sort of reluctant tribute to the classics, he admits that it is the consciousness of the need for such a subject that is "the excuse, no doubt, for the excessive attention paid to the dead languages," but qualifies the force of the admission by going on to say that "an effort should be made to give *in some other way* the same intellectual drill and command of language which is fostered by" classical studies.

[1] Cp. the language of an address by the President of the Royal Society (Sir William Huggins), on which has been based a recent memorial from the Royal Society to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge: "The direction in which changes should be made [in the studies of our higher schools and in secondary education generally] is in that of the development of self-helpfulness and a spirit of free inquiry as opposed to the traditional teaching of the past".

Of all countries, Germany is the one that has most reason to be content with her existing educational system, and it is in Germany, more than anywhere else, that classics still maintain their ancient supremacy. There is much virtue in the German school motto, *Non multa sed multum*—the "minimum of matter with the maximum of mind". For this Dr. Johnson's equivalent was, "I hate by-ways in education". The Germans have very little sympathy with the modern view that the "best mode of preparing the young mind for its future work is to direct it at an early age, before a basis of really sound knowledge has been laid, towards the special studies and pursuits which are to occupy it in after life". They would rather incline to the converse proposition, viz.: that "the more special the occupation of the man, the more large and liberal should be the studies on which the boy is trained". The idea that a commercial return should at once accrue for the outlay expended on education was reprobated long ago by Plato, when he said that education "should not be undertaken in the spirit of merchants and traders, with a view to buying or selling, but *for the sake of the soul herself*". And when people speak of the need for taking into account the practical interests of life, they must not be allowed to limit their argument to the making of a livelihood: the leisure of life has to be provided for as well as life's business, and there are many, in town and country alike, who can be helped by education even to make a proper use of their Sundays!

The need for instilling a permanent taste for good literature is a commonplace with reformers. Cases have been known where an excessive devotion to mathematics, for example, and science has stunted the growth of the literary faculty. Surely it would be doubtful gain if the masses of pupils in our public schools were led to cultivate immediate probable utility at the cost of falling out of acquaintance, say, with the language of poetry. But is the education which is to-day tending to supplant the old curriculum really effective in creating a feeling for literature? I doubt if this will ever really flourish where language-teaching

is neglected. I am one of those who believe that the study of an inflectional language is necessary for the accurate use of the mother-tongue, and for a proper appreciation of literature. It may be a question with some whether French or Latin should be studied first. But one foreign language is certainly indispensable for all who are to be well equipped for the use and understanding of their mother-tongue. I said on another occasion that it is often precisely those who are loudest in their profession of single-hearted devotion to the study of English who contrive to write English just about as badly as it can be written. "What should they know of English who only English know?"

I do not wish to interfere unnecessarily in the discussion of the vexed questions of Ontario. And no one need imagine that I hold any brief for this or that language. I am no bigot, for example, on the classical question. It was not long after my settlement at Montreal that compulsory Greek disappeared from the entrance examinations at McGill. But I am astonished to find that so little recognition is given here to the facts of experience, one of which certainly is that pupils who have acquired a foreign language possess, as a rule, a greater mental development than those who only have their mother-tongue.

In this country, nothing aids so much the efforts of those who are bent on disparaging the value of language study as the tone adopted towards it in the home. This attitude springs from the excess of the sentiment which has lately declared that education in the past has been too "bookish," and that children should be instructed in "things" rather than in "words". With us it is regarded as a sign of alert and up-to-date intelligence to proclaim that one has "no use for Greek". But do not let us ignore the views of others. In England, the new committee which regulates the conditions of entrance into the Navy is enacting that Latin shall be *obligatory on all candidates*—i.e. that boys of, say, twelve and half, shall be examined in Cæsar and in the translation into Latin of short compound sentences of every type. And yet I don't suppose they speak Latin in the

British Navy! Germany recognizes the traditional curriculum in classics, mathematics, and modern languages as the best means of training for all, whether they are going to the University or not. Specialized studies in Germany come later. In the United States, fully half the pupils in attendance in secondary schools are learning Latin, though of these only about one-sixth have any intention of following up the study at the University. In Scotland a Classical Association was formed a couple of years ago, and the movement has just been imitated in England, consisting of those who believe in "the supreme value to the intellectual life of the nation of the preservation of classical study, as a means of the highest mental discipline for all such as have the natural aptitude and can afford the time needed to turn those studies to account".

What is the meaning of all this? To account for it, it is by no means necessary to utter any extravagant eulogy of what we understand classical scholarship to be. That is for the few, and in regard to school education it is the interests of the many that have to be considered. But the foregoing review of facts may help us to understand the attitude of those who hold that there is no more fortifying subject in the whole school curriculum than Latin and Latin grammar. If this subject has fared badly in Canada, owing in the main to the woeful lack of preparation on the part of those who have undertaken the teaching of it, that is no reason why we as a nation should wish to turn our backs on a study which is recognized by other peoples as "affording the highest guarantee for a proper understanding of the scientific principles of grammar and analysis, the best security for ability to use one's own language intelligently, and the fittest introduction to the study of any other".

One of the reasons why there is so much slipshod English current in this country is, in my opinion, that Latin is being neglected in many of our schools.[1] It suffers from the charge

[1] "Commercial Law," for example, is taking its place, and I cite the following gem from a recent handbook on this subject. "A person living several years after making a will, if circumstances require many alterations, it

of being a learned subject; one in which the Universities have the leading interest; one which will help to keep the children away from the farm. Latin is, of course, anything but a "soft subject". But the phenomenal revival of this study in the United States, after a certain period of experimenting in other directions, is probably to be accounted for by the consciousness of how greatly English would suffer by its suppression, as well as by what a member of the Mosely Commission (Mr. Fletcher) refers to as the "disgust at the disappointing results of the smattering of many subjects offered in its stead". Listen to the words of a Harvard Committee, reporting on English in the secondary schools: "The study of Latin Grammar may be so conducted as to render the formal study of English Grammar superfluous in the high school; and it may, by virtue of the singularly logical character of Latin syntax, help to train the pupil in expression as well as in thought. Through the study of Latin, moreover, the pupil may make himself familiar with many of the common English prefixes and suffixes, and with the derivation of many English words; he may enlarge his vocabulary and learn to use it with finer discrimination. The advantages of oral and written translation as a means of training in English need not be dwelt on." The pupil is, in fact, learning thereby to write and speak his own language all the time, and constantly increasing his stock of English phrases, constructions, and idioms. With modern languages it is apt to be more a matter of vocabulary only: cast in the same mould as English, they do not supply, equally with Latin, the mental gymnastic of a close logical training in language. It is Latin that, above all other languages, imparts what may be called the logic of grammar.

I have already admitted that something remains to be done to simplify the study, especially in a country which is hurrying on to meet the practical needs of life. We ought to throw overboard a great many of the minutiæ of scholar-

is better to make a new will and burn the old one." There is no greater enemy of illiterate and ungrammatical English than an elementary knowledge of the principles of grammar, such as may be obtained from Latin.

ship, rare and abnormal grammatical forms that are only a burden to the memory, and in fact do a good deal less of what used to be called "gerund-grinding".

The textbooks in use are, as a rule, too elaborate. They tend to frighten beginners. Here I shall only say that if the Universities would join hands and take the same parental oversight of the school curriculum in classics as the German Government does, better results might be accomplished. The use of such a book, for instance, as Ritchie's recently published "First Steps in Cæsar" might brighten his task to many a pupil who is in danger of believing at present that the greatest of all Romans wrote his famous commentaries to serve as a school textbook in a later age. I say less about Greek, which ought certainly not to be begun while boys are still struggling with the elements of other foreign languages. Some people speak as though the whole end of reform would be achieved if Greek could be entirely expunged from the school programme. In this connexion Prof. Mahaffy told an amusing story recently. Protesting against the assumption that scientific research is the only possible form of original investigation, he narrated a conversation with a young friend who had reported to him that he had decided to go in for Medicine. "Then, I suppose," said Dr. Mahaffy, "you are hard at work on the preliminary subjects, botany, zoology, chemistry?" "Oh, no!" replied the boy, "but I have given up Greek!"

I hope no one will think that I take too narrow a view of education. My training has been too broad, and my experience too wide for me to feel that I am personally in any danger of this. I know that the excess of language-study is just as reprehensible as the neglect of it. As one of my own friends, himself the successful head of a preparatory school,[1] puts it, while recognizing the immense importance of Latin, Greek, French, and Mathematics as methods of discipline in accuracy: "Discipline is not everything in early education. The best teaching is that which takes the will captive and enlists the

[1] G. Gidley Robinson, Hillside, Godalming, England.

pupil as an ally in the process of learning; which sympathizes with the curiosity natural to all children, and knows how to transmute it into sound and reasoned knowledge; which stimulates imagination and arouses interest, effort, the desire to know more. In a word, stimulus is needed as well as discipline. The average boy who spends nearly his whole school time in wrestling with the rudiments of three foreign languages, or with the dry rules of mathematics, never sees the wood for the trees. He does not feel that growing and encouraging sense of power which comes from having his goal well in sight, pressing towards it, reaching it. What he needs is a richer curriculum, one that appeals to other than the merely linguistic faculties; one which, while not losing sight of discipline, shall at the same time appeal to other sides of boy-nature; discovering and developing aptitudes which now languish for want of opportunity; giving him less book-work, and teaching him how to use his eyes and hands; training memory less and intelligence more; in a word, making education a less mechanical and a more vital thing. It is 'more life and fuller that we want'. The teacher's aim, it has been admirably said, 'is to help the pupil to live a fuller, a richer, a more interesting and a more useful life'."

This is why, while there are some of us who look with suspicion on such a subject as "Book-keeping and Commercial Transactions," we should all welcome an improvement in the methods of teaching, say, commercial geography, together with everything else that will give pupils an idea of the natural resources of their own and of foreign countries. Along with that as much "nature-study" as anyone could wish for; provided, that the teacher in charge of the subject has a sound hold on the general sciences on which "nature-study" must rest, and can, as it were, "sow from a full sack" in dealing with it. Nor do I need to commend manual training and instruction in the mechanical arts—a subject which the efforts of one man, Sir William Macdonald, have sufficed to place on almost a national basis already throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion. The immense field of technical education in general would require a paper to

itself. If it is to be adequately dealt with in Canada, the provinces will have to come to some arrangement with the Federal Government, which is in the meantime barred from all the good works in education that seem almost to lie ready to its hand. It is just in regard to professional training generally, including Art and Music, that the intervention of an extra-provincial authority could do the greatest good. The Dominion Government, as such, has a real and practical interest in the existence of high-class Colleges of Agriculture all over the country, as well as in providing adequate training for Doctors of Veterinary Medicine. But all this comes under the head of education, and must, according to our constitution, be left to the separate activities of the provinces. How difficult any proposal for concerted action may prove in such matters, when there is even one dissentient, we saw lately in connexion with the discussion of Dr. Roddick's Medical Registration Bill.

Meanwhile, as regards our schools—including those of all the provinces, from the Atlantic to the Pacific—the key to the solution of every present and future problem is to be found in the adequate training and the sufficient remuneration of the teachers. We must get rid of the absurd idea that all the situation calls for is to have the services of a body of persons who have learned just a little more than they may be required to teach. That is a bad English tradition which would be laughed out of court in Germany. I sometimes wish there were even a greater dearth of public school teachers than there is to-day. Nothing short of a general stoppage in the supply will suffice to call attention to the altogether unsatisfactory nature of present conditions. But the only result of an actual scarcity is that the powers that be are forced to go still lower down in the scale and grant certificates to unqualified persons, with consequent prejudice alike to salaries and to status.

The report of the Mosely Commission, which will shortly be issued to the public, will probably be found to state that the facilities for training teachers in Canada are by no means all they might be. This reminds me to say that at Montreal

one of these days we shall have a thoroughly-equipped Training College in close connexion with McGill University, the work of which it will be impossible for any province in Canada to ignore. We know that we have to do more than minister to the local needs of our immediate neighbourhood, and that is why we are so much alive to every opportunity of national usefulness. At Montreal we shall want to have our Training College as closely connected with the University course as are our existing professional schools of Law, Medicine, and Applied Science. It is just as good for teachers as it is for lawyers and doctors and clergymen that up to a certain point they should obtain the same liberal education as other students, and have their technical and professional training afterwards. In our existing Normal School may easily be found the nucleus of an institution which shall place McGill on the same level as the most advanced Universities of the United States—Columbia, with its Teachers' College, and Chicago, with its School of Education, the Professor of Education in the University acting as responsible head also of the Normal College. Meanwhile, to show how deeply we are interested in the better training of teachers, we have decided to start, without delay, a Summer School, the first contribution of which to their better equipment shall be made in the neglected department of language-study. Montreal is an ideal centre for the teaching of French ; and for a month or so McGill will welcome all teachers who desire to profit by the opportunity offered for the study of this subject. They will be boarded in one of the affiliated colleges, and every attempt will be made to establish and maintain an exclusively French atmosphere from the beginning to the end of the course. The leaflet which I have handed to your secretary details the methods by which this desirable end is to be secured, and I shall only add here that as nothing of the kind is offered in your own province—your Summer School at London being limited, I think, to manual training, domestic science, etc.—I hope some of you will take advantage of the invitation we extend to you to come to Montreal for this purpose. The course will be given in July.

That reminds me to refer to the regrettable fact that there may be some people here who profess to believe that McGill is not quite good enough for Ontario. In the recent discussion as to the qualifications of specialists, nothing surprised me more than the amount of argument and the length of time required to bring home to those who did not want to admit it the fact which stares every one in the face who is at all conversant with your provincial regulations. The worth or the inferiority of McGill courses has at present nothing to do with the question. You might have a University manned by angels and archangels, and yet if that University were situated only a mile or two beyond your provincial boundary, its honour graduates could not obtain the standing of specialists under your regulations. Such a condition of things is obviously the negation of "national education". I took the liberty of raising this question after reading the account of a speech in which one of your most distinguished fellow-townsmen, speaking in well-deserved praise of the University of Toronto, had made it a boast that "while the University of Toronto has of graduates teaching in high schools 283, Trinity College has 13, and McGill has 1". That was in 1900, and your Education Department is still in travail with the issue to which I have referred. It sees on the one hand that education is the most highly protected industry of this province, and that the admission of competition from the outside might spoil the market; on the other hand, it is probably aware by now that, equally with Toronto, McGill University is growing to be a national force which cannot be conveniently ignored. It is certainly in no sense a provincial University. It is as free from party politics as it is from denominational influences of any kind, and it owes no allegiance to any provincial Department of Education. Its Faculty of Arts will now compare favourably with that of any University in the country, its standard for honours is fully as high as that which obtains elsewhere, and it is gradually extending its influence all over the Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

It ought not to be left to me to say such things of McGill, but if no one else will, in Ontario, why of course I must!

I am one of those who think it is somewhat vain to speak of Canada as a nation so long as such a state of things continues to be possible. And if the argument is used that "to allow McGill graduates to take certain scholastic positions in other provinces would deprive those who belonged to such provinces of the chance of earning their bread and butter," the answer must be that this is a question of efficiency. If Ontario is to continue in the educational van of Canada, we ought to be able to presume that what it wants from its teachers is the best possible service. Will it get this if it insists on ranging itself alongside the craftsmen of Ephesus, who had no better argument to advance than, "This our craft is in danger; great is Diana of the Ephesians"?

But I must not close with any reference that may give rise to a difference of opinion among you. We are all agreed that the discovery of the supreme importance of education is one of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century. And not least on this American continent, where the watchword has ever been, and will continue to be, equality of opportunity for all. In former days in Europe education was a class privilege. But now we have to think no longer of the professional classes only, but of the masses of the people, in regard to whom it is our interest, as well as our duty, to cast the net wide, so as to get the greatest possible return from the available brain power of the whole community, by bringing the benefits of a liberal education within the reach of all. With such a task before us, it will be strange if we do not see before long some sort of awakening as to the status and remuneration of the teacher. Otherwise the condemnation of posterity will assuredly overtake us. At some future stage in the development of human civilization, the wonderment will be great that there should have been a time at which nations were content to pay elementary school teachers at a rate not much above that which could be claimed by unskilled labour. No expenditure is considered too great to be grudged on war and armaments by land and by sea, on constructive works such as railways, bridges, harbours, and naval stations; but the needs of the common school rouse little, if any,

interest or enthusiasm. And yet it is there that those are being trained who are to form the manhood and the womanhood of the nation in the years that are to come. It is there that the national character is being moulded, even though some of those who are engaged in the work may not be fully alive to the magnitude of their opportunities. Think for a moment of what it ought to mean—this chance of having all the children of a nation together up to the ages of thirteen or fourteen! Not merely for the acquiring of knowledge—that is by no means the whole of education. Success in examinations is something, but it is by no means everything. For instance, it cannot be regarded as furnishing a complete and satisfying test of character. I was so much impressed by what was said on this subject by an Inspector of Schools in the West[1] that I wrote down the words of his report: "Unless the pupil leaves our schools with refined and gentle manners; with a self-control sufficient to free him from the need of external restraint and guidance; with clear knowledge of his duties and sound views of the worth of life and its prizes; with a power of growth and a thirst after knowledge; the schools have not done their best work for him, however broad and accurate his scholarship may be". Good manners, courtesy, consideration for others, respect for seniors, friendly politeness towards all—a time may come when it may be superfluous to speak of the need of caring for such things: but meanwhile we must look to the school to make good whatever deficiencies may exist in the home.

It is to enable them to meet these and other demands that we want the best possible training for our teachers. We want to complete the transformation of what used to be considered a sort of refuge for the destitute into a profession that shall be recognized as ranking among the noblest and most honourable of all. If in the course of progress we lay increasing burdens upon you, and make demands of you that become greater from year to year, we ought to honour you all the more when you successfully fulfil the duties assigned

[1] Dr. Goggin.

to you. Meanwhile you should have every opportunity of comparing one set of teaching conditions with another, and exchanging notes on educational experience. That you will never have if you shut yourselves up within the narrow limits of any single system, cultivating self-complacency instead of broad-mindedness, and refusing to see good in any subject except the one you teach, or efficiency in any institutions except those of your own parish. Education may become the greatest federating force at work among the various provinces of our vast Dominion. The influences which it wields will act more potently than the provisions of any paper constitution in the direction of unity of interest, thought, feeling, and aspiration. That is why I should like to see, if it were possible to realize it, a great national training centre, which would serve as a sort of rallying-point for teachers throughout the country, to which they might return from time to time to replenish their stores, and so qualify themselves for advancement from a lower to a higher grade in the profession of their choice. Would that it might become to many—men as well as women—a life work, instead of a convenient way of spending a limited number of years of active service! It is the best brains of the country that are needed for this onerous and responsible but noble and dignified field of work, and the time is at hand when the nation will be content with nothing else.

THE UNITY OF LEARNING.[1]

THE Canadian University which accredited me as a delegate to this jubilee and inauguration is twenty-five years older than the University of Wisconsin: as for Oxford, which I have the honour also to represent—Oxford does not really know her age. She is past the time of life when it is easy or convenient to recall the date of one's birth. Unlike your University, McGill in Montreal is of private foundation—owing little, if anything, to the State. Such institutions exist for the purpose, speaking for the moment only of finance, of enabling wealthy givers to escape the epitaph which might otherwise record the bare, naked fact that "the rich man died also and was buried". How different is your case! I have never heard the points of contrast between the two types—the State University and the private foundation—put so cogently as by those who have already addressed you. We may well envy you that wealth of public appreciation which takes the form of a large annual subsidy—paid, I have no doubt, with the regularity of clockwork—and which operates at the same time as a guarantee that your work shall always keep in touch with practical and public aims. The beautiful drives which your visitors have been privileged to take in the neighbourhood have impressed on them the fact that the State has encouraged you to annex a public park and call it a campus. You do not permit any other University institution in this State to approach the legislature: you have it all to yourself. No two State Universities, as was said yesterday, are supposed to ask for appropriations from the same commonwealth. How different are our relations with the private

[1] An Address delivered at the Jubilee of the University of Wisconsin, 9 June, 1904.

donor! He is distracted by rival claims and conflicting interests, and cannot lavish all his affections on the college of his choice. There are the Churches, for instance!

Of Oxford it might be difficult to say whether it is, on the whole, a public or a private foundation. Such State recognition as it enjoys does not carry with it any great increase of the material resources of the university, and as to private donations, it seems a long time since the pious founders went to their rest. There is generally, in all private foundations, a long wait between the gifts! The reason why Oxford receives no endowments now from private sources is possibly the mistaken idea that a University which has been going for so many centuries must surely be complete.

Neither McGill nor Oxford definitely authorized me to inflict in its name on this large and representative audience any expression of academic views. But I am quite at home in such celebrations both in this world and—what some of us call "the old country"; and it is therefore a pleasure to respond to your new President's invitation that I should say something on the subject of our mutual interests. A great part of the activity of a modern college head is, in fact, taken up with attending such celebrations as this. My apprenticeship began thirty years ago—as far back as the great Edinburgh tercentenary in 1884. Though it has fallen to my lot to attend similar festivals at various points on this continent, I have never yet been quite so far west—or rather let me say, quite so near what I am told is to be considered the centre of American gravity. I think it was that spirited writer, Dr. Conan Doyle, who spoke so feelingly of finding all the comforts of civilization in the course of a lecturing tour which he made through the United States—in the hotel, for example, where the barber's shop provided him with attendance from a hairdresser on the very spot where in recent memory the original inhabitants of the continent might have left no hair on his head at all! But, however appreciative such a strolling lecturer may show himself, he cannot experience those feelings of gratitude and satisfaction which fill our hearts to-day when, as the invited guests of a great American Uni-

versity, we receive such overwhelming proof of American friendliness and American hospitality.

After all the wealth of oratory to which we have listened, it may not be out of place for me to call your attention to the fact that this is the first opportunity you have had of hearing from the outside world. Previous speakers have spoken as fellow-citizens: I am called upon to represent the foreigner! It is a comfort to think that what I shall endeavour to submit to you ought not, at least, to *sound* very foreign in your ears. I should like to tell you, to begin with, that the duty of addressing you could not have fallen to the lot of anyone who has a greater respect for, or a higher appreciation of, the people of these United States. I am a great admirer of your nation. On more than one occasion, in the course of my residence on this continent, I have had valued opportunities of speaking on the subject of Anglo-American interests, showing to the best of my poor ability how Britain and the United States are bound together by ties stronger than laws and constitutions can create, by community of race, language, literature, religion, institutions, commercial and social intercourse, and the glorious traditions of a common history. No one can be much in touch with your people without being constantly struck by its energies and enterprise; its almost unbounded confidence and consciousness of power; its resourcefulness, ingenuity, and above all, the rapidity with which it can adapt itself to meet the calls of new conditions and ever-changing circumstances. As one of my Canadian confrères lately expressed it, "the bold spirit of enterprise which you have shown and your capacity for organization, encouraged from the beginning by the requirements of a vast new territory, now amount to something which is as clearly national genius as the Roman's capacity for organizing conquest in the ancient world and the Englishman's for organizing Empire in the modern".[1] As for education, that has become one of your greatest national industries. There is no more powerful unifying agency at work in the world

[1] Professor Cappon of Queen's University.

than education. It may interest you to know that at a great imperial University Conference which I had the honour of attending in London last year, and which was presided over by Mr. James Bryce, more than one speaker expressed the view that if we only had representatives from American universities with us, we should have been quite complete. In default of any such larger federation, it is at least open to cultivate the cordial relationships which are implied in the exchange of visits on the occasion of interesting ceremonials such as the present. I do not know that either Englishmen or Americans are sufficiently conscious of the amount of fusion that is going on around and about us, as shown especially in the results of the silent processes by which our common language is asserting its supremacy not only on this continent, but in far-off Asia, Australia, and Africa as well. It is a good augury for the future federation of the world that America, as a whole, speaks English, and is content to call it English still!

When your President asked me to furnish him with some title for my address this forenoon, I felt inclined to suggest that I might be allowed to discourse on what I should have liked to call "standing impressions". For such a talk I should have been glad to draw inspiration merely from the various speeches which I knew were to precede mine. But something more formal was required of me, and I have been at some pains to comply with the demand. No one can take part in such a ceremonial as this without realizing the degree of identity, as well as of difference, that will be found to exist on a comparison of British and American university institutions. Identity there must ever be amongst the universities of all countries, centering as each does in the common constitution of chair, faculty, and senate. (I leave the question of business administration out of account, as that is cared for in many different ways.) All American universities are democratic, some more, some less. Those who still imagine that a democracy prefers to be governed by ignorant persons ought to have had the opportunity which your visitors have enjoyed, of listening to the speakers whose eloquence, as is

usually the case at such gatherings in the United States, has been so remarkable a feature of your festival. It is *not* the fact that a democracy would choose, if left to itself, to remain ignorant. It wants rather the best guidance that it can get. That is why it is that, no matter what course a student may follow, his university training is not considered to have done much for him if it fails to make him more fit than he otherwise would have been, to *lead* his fellowmen, and to take a useful and a creditable part in the conduct of public affairs. Preparation for citizenship and for the public service has rightly been made the basis of much of your work in the realm of higher education. There is a passage in one of President Elliot's recent reports which may well be cited in this connexion: "Since wise and efficient conduct of American affairs, commercial, industrial, and public, depends more and more upon the learned and scientific professions, the universities owe it to the country to provide the best possible preparation for all the professions. This best possible preparation can only be given to young men who, up to their twenty-first year, have had the advantages of continuous and progressive school and college training." * * *

After all it is the spirit which makes us one, no matter what differences may exist as regards external form. Our universities need not all be fashioned in the same mould. Here in Wisconsin, with your State patronage and your mutual understanding as to the advantages which both parties to existing contracts may hope to reap, it may surprise you to realize that questions are still raised elsewhere as to the propriety of including in the university curriculum the industrial applications of science. To me it seems to be the natural consequence of the rapid growth of science in recent times. The earliest universities were eminently practical. Bologna was founded for Law, Salerno for Medicine. The distinction between what we call pure and applied science is a natural and necessary distinction, and though the former now comes first in the order of teaching, it was not so in the order of historical development. It was the practical needs of life that gave rise in the first instance to the science of astronomy,

for example, and geometry; and as for chemistry, in the hands of the alchemists, its essential motive was the persistent endeavour to transmute the baser metals into gold. On the one hand, the practical applications of science lie at the foundation of all science: on the other, it may be truly said that all the marvels of modern scientific activity rest on the basis of the abstract and theoretical learning which was fostered by the universities, and which, as has been rightly insisted on by previous speakers, it is the duty of the State, as well as its privilege, to develop and encourage in such a University as this. What we have to do is to seek to minimize the danger and disadvantage of the separation of the two spheres by giving practical men a sound training in theory, and also by keeping theory in touch with practice.

There are, in fact, obvious advantages in the association of technology with the university curriculum. The university alone can adequately cover the higher parts of technical instruction, safeguarding the *disinterestedness* of science and keeping in due subordination to the search for truth the material advantages and "bread-earning" potencies that may be involved in any particular branch of study. And by so doing—by throwing its ægis over technology—the university learns the lesson that the day is long past and gone when it might be content with being a mere academic ornament instead of striving to make itself a centre of practical usefulness in the community. The word has gone forth over all the world that learning and science are and must ever remain incomplete and unsatisfying unless they can be adapted to the service and the use of man.

The danger now rather seems to be that the needs of practical and professional training, and the pressure of commercial interests, may tend to depress the standard of liberal education and the old traditions of culture. We hear much now-a-days of proposals to get the universities to shorten or cut down the academic and literary side of their training. But if we follow our best counsellors, we shall not want to do so many things in so great a hurry. Rather we shall stand by the sure foundation which a university training

ought to guarantee. This has been well described by one of your own authorities, Prof. Andrew West, of Princeton, in his reference to the college department of a university as that which furnishes "the one repository and shelter of liberal education as distinct from technical or commercial training; the only available foundation for the erection of universities containing faculties devoted to the maintenance of pure learning, and the only institution which can furnish the preparation which is always desired, even though it is not yet generally exacted, by the better professional schools".

We all know when it becomes our duty gently to combat, for example, the wishes of the parent who says: "My boy wants to be a chemist or an engineer; put him through his studies in the shortest possible time". A year or two's delay will make all the better man of him. Not that we do not believe in specialization, but we also believe that the student makes a mistake when, in his haste to advance himself in some special field, he turns his back on the advantages of a broad general education. Let him have an opportunity of developing an interest also in other subjects, outside his own particular sphere: so shall we secure that he shall rise superior to the temptation of acquiring the mere knacks of a trade, and that those who may become the future leaders of great industrial undertakings shall have a mastery of principles as well as that faculty of well-balanced judgment and careful discrimination which, as distinct from the mere acquisition of knowledge, is the mark of a sound and comprehensive education.

It is by giving emphasis to this argument that we may avoid any reasonable censure from those who wish to warn us that it is no part of the work and office of a university to teach the students how money may be made. Apart from all thought of "getting on in the world," the benefits of a college training should be made to stand out as solid advantages for the betterment and enrichment of the individual life. It is a trite remark that business or professional avocations do not make up the whole of existence for any one of us. The leisure of life has to be provided for, and as was

lately remarked by one of my colleagues in Montreal: "Every one should receive an equipment such as shall enable him even to get through his Sundays with credit".

I have referred already to the great expansion in modern days of the field of university studies. Law, medicine, theology are no longer the only technical applications of our academic work. The modern type of college professor can make his views heard, not only about railroads, bridges, and electrical supplies, but also about public finance and currency and banking—even about an international dispute over a boundary line! And it is good for the university thus to be brought into close touch with the actual needs of life. No one believes nowadays that a sound training in classics and mathematics is enough for a student, whatever may be the line of life he may intend to enter on. But in adapting ourselves to the new, we need by no means part wholly with the old. Do not let us forget that, while it is not beneath the dignity of a university to take an interest in practical matters, such as the problems of banking and finance, sanitary reform, water supply, taxation, charity organization, and municipal questions generally, there is such a thing as the uplifting of professional interests and pursuits by association with an institution which is above and beyond them all. The path of progress in the professional faculties is now marked out on the lines of an ever-increasing identification with the aims and ideals of the university. Instead of separation in independence, what we work for now is the co-ordination of subjects and departments, the inter-relation and inter-dependence of the faculties, the unification of the separate and segregated parts in one systematic and consistent whole, in which each branch, while distinct in its own well-defined sphere, shall yet contribute to the common strength of all. Upon such a scheme mining may quite well go hand in hand with metaphysics, Hebrew with hydraulics. Take mining, a branch of which the importance can hardly be over-estimated, and which we have fully installed at one of the universities which I represent to-day—I need hardly say I am not referring to Oxford! It may serve to illustrate the

wide interest that may be cultivated in a university of the kind I am describing, if I recall the fact that I know also another type of miner, different from the one who is trained in schools of mining engineering.

Some of my friends are digging at this moment—not on virgin soil like the Klondike, but in countries like Egypt, and Crete, and Asia Minor, whose hills and plains are gray with hoar antiquity. What is the object of their search? Not the shining nugget or the ore which will yield its hidden treasure only to the pressure of machinery, but the mould-covered and musty papyrus—some buried and long-forgotten manuscript that may seem to bridge again the gulf which separates the old world from the new. Perhaps there may be some here who would not give much for such treasure-trove, but none the less is it true that the explorers in Egypt and elsewhere are adding, like the mining engineer, to the sum of the world's wealth: to its opportunities of knowing itself, its past history, and the story of its previous intellectual efforts. And so room may be found under practically the same roof for science on the one hand, and also for literary studies, those branches which make it their business to investigate the origins of things—of languages, of religions, of national customs, ideas, and institutions. All nations have need of the "scholar class"—the men who stand for ideas and ideals, who are eager to join in the search for truth and to proclaim it fearlessly. The one thing needful is that all investigations, literary and scientific alike, be carried on in the spirit of the maxim laid down by Monsieur Gaston Paris: "I profess absolutely and without reserve this doctrine, that the sole object of science is truth, and truth for its own sake, without regard to consequences, good or evil, happy or unhappy. He who through patriotic, religious, or even moral motives, allows himself in regard to the facts which he investigates, or the conclusions which he draws from them, the smallest dissimulation, the slightest variation of standard, is not worthy to have a place in the great laboratory where honesty is a more indispensable title to admission than ability. Thus understood, common studies, pursued in the same spirit

in all civilized countries, form—above restricted and too often hostile nationalities—a *grande patrie* which is stained by no war, menaced by no conqueror, and where our souls find the rest and communion which was given them in other days by the City of God."

And now, as specially representing Oxford, I should like to say a word or two of the feeling of unity which may well bind universities in other parts of the English-speaking world, to that which may be called the "old grey mother of them all". There is a popular notion on this continent that Oxford is an anachronism, used up and out of date, and that it exists only for the purpose of providing the sister university of Cambridge with a partner for the boat race and the university cricket match. Much of this is due to the gentle irony of Matthew Arnold, who spoke lightly (knowing that he would not be misunderstood by his friends) of Oxford as being "steeped in prejudice and port"; and who apostrophized the university as the "home of lost causes, impossible loyalties, and forsaken beliefs". The current view is, however, surely a heavy penalty for Oxford to pay for not giving special prominence to those branches of technical or professional study which are so greatly praised in America, on the ground not only of their intrinsic excellence, but also for the practical reason that they afford a speedy means of obtaining a livelihood, and that they contribute also to develop the material resources of the country. It is no reproach to Oxford to admit that her chief glory centres round those literary and humanistic studies of which it may be said, in brief, that their main value lies in the fact that they are followed not only for their own sake, not only as ends in themselves, but also because they enter, and must ever continue to enter, into all the other branches of a university curriculum. Oxford does not neglect science, although circumstances prevent Oxford from cultivating all branches of science. What she recognizes is the fact that letters are as necessary to civilization as science, and that science will only thrive and exist in an intellectual atmosphere where literature also flourishes. For these two grow from one root.

I listened with interest to what President Van Hise said in appreciation of the advantages of the residential system at our great English universities. There are many who would acknowledge their indebtedness to that system for a degree of what I may call *social experience* to which they might not otherwise have attained. But, besides being a great school of manners, Oxford has realized the ideal which your own Mr. Lowell set before American colleges in his memorable oration at the Harvard celebration, when he said that he "would rather the college should turn out *one* of Aristotle's four-square men, capable of holding his own in whatever field he may be cast, than a *score* of lop-sided ones, developed abnormally in one direction"; and when he defined the general purposes of college education as being "to set free, to supple and to train the faculties in such wise as shall make them most effective for whatever task in life may afterwards be set them—for the duties of life rather than for its business; and to open windows on every side of the mind where thickness of wall does not prevent it".

October of this year will see the first additions from American colleges to the ranks of Oxford students under the terms of the Rhodes Bequest. It may be in order to offer a word or two on that much-discussed topic. Let me first recall the words of Mr. Rhodes' will. He states in express terms that his desire was "to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world, and to encourage in the students of the United States of America, who will benefit from the American scholarships, an attachment to the country from which they have sprung *without withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth*". It is probably the fear of something of this sort that has given rise to certain criticisms of the Rhodes Bequest. The most acrimonious that I have seen comes from a journal that calls itself the "Cosmopolitan," [1]

[1] The remarks which form the subject of what follows may be found in a note appended by the editor to a paper in which the writer seems to gloat over what he conceived to be the approaching dissolution of the British Monarchy.—"Cosmopolitan," May, 1904.

the editor of which finds fault with Dr. Parkin for claiming (as reported in a newspaper interview) that "Oxford during three centuries has turned out *literary statesmen* for England as regularly as clockwork, and gives to students the kind of world-wide knowledge that will enable them to stand among the great ones of the earth". The literary roll of honour among the statesmen of this country is undoubtedly growing in distinction; it contains names like those of your great President of the United States, the strenuous Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, and others; all that Dr. Parkin meant to assert was that England *has never* lacked statesmen who were also eminent in literature. But what says the editor of the "Cosmopolitan"? "Seen through American eyes, Oxford has not turned out two great statesmen of high integrity, broad conceptions, and personal courage to each of these three centuries."

Then he proceeds to offer a prize of one hundred dollars to anyone who will name such statesmen. I should like to enter this competition and found with the proceeds a prize in the history department of the University of Wisconsin! Mr. Walker's remarks are practically an indictment, not of Oxford, but of English statesmanship for the last three hundred years. For it is true that a very great proportion of England's public men, during that period, were educated in Oxford: the rest had mostly the advantage of a Cambridge training. In our own day there have been from Oxford, Gladstone, Morley, Goschen, James Bryce, Asquith, and many more. A century ago, there were Chatham, Fox, Carteret (the first Lord Granville); two centuries ago, John Hampden, Lord Clarendon, Sir Harry Vane, Sir John Eliot. That some of these not merely passed through Oxford, but retained her teaching in the deepest substance of their minds, may be inferred from the famous anecdote of Carteret told by Robert Wood, the author of the Essay on the Genius of Homer. Wood called on Carteret a few days before his death with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris. He found the statesman so languid that he proposed postponing the business. But Carteret insisted that

he should stay; "it could not prolong his life," he said, "to neglect his duty". Then he repeated to his visitor, *in the original Greek*, the immortal lines which Sarpedon in Homer's Twelfth Iliad addresses to Glaucus, the son of Hippolochus:—

"Friend of my soul, if we might escape from this war, and then live for ever without old age or death, I should not fight myself amid the foremost ranks, nor would I send thee into the glorifying battle: but a thousand fates of death stand over us, which mortal man may not flee from nor avoid: then let us on, whether we shall give glory to others, or obtain it for ourselves."

It was the spirit of Oxford and of an Oxford training that spoke in these words of a dying statesman. Carteret may have had his faults—such faults as were common in that age. But this story from his very death-bed will ever hallow his memory in the minds of those who know what an Oxford training means.

It was certainly Cecil Rhodes' intention, in addition to improving the relations of the English-speaking peoples, to help to enlarge in America—what has been the glory of England—the class of really cultivated statesmen, capable of a broad and generous view, free from all parochialism and crudity. Of course Oxford cannot create men of genius: nature must do that. Neither can she create heroes and saints, men with a burning passion for humanity. But she can leaven all the human materials sent her with a certain civilizing influence, a certain softening power of beauty and of thought. Her very walls will do it. Most of you know this very well. I appeal to my friend President Harper. What greater compliment could Chicago have paid to our English universities than to imitate their buildings in structures which recall—in what I was glad to find last week are really no uncongenial surroundings—the stately associations of the college gardens!

We must not expect statesmen—men of action—to be representatives of ideal perfection: none of them ever has been. Cæsar, Cromwell, Bismarck, have many obvious

faults. It is high praise for them if they see the thing which has to be done, and can be done in their age, and get that thing done. If they were votaries of abstract perfection, and would not move till that could be secured, they would do nothing at all. Why then should Oxford be discouraged by the fact that the editor of the "Cosmopolitan" holds that Cecil Rhodes "did not propose to send American youths to Oxford to be educated, but American youths to educate Oxford in the ways of a great Republic"? Or, again—"Oxford annually puts forth a group of parliamentary mediocrities, or literary jingoes, of political make-shifts, of legislative dilettanti, of conservatives, of opportunists, of men who sweep with the tide, and never put forth a fearless effort on behalf of improved government". And once more —"Has Oxford," cries J. B. Walker, "sent out within fifty years a single great figure who can be spoken of as having a splendid courage, a high integrity, a clear intelligence, a comprehensive grasp of improved governmental methods, *and at heart solely the interests of his fellowmen?* No. Class favouritism, social kotowing, cowardice in opposing popular measures" (whatever may be the meaning of that), "disciples of the has-been and commonplace, these are her graduates."

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am a graduate of Oxford, which I am proud to look back upon as my Alma Mater, and I must confess that I do not recognize my mother in this travesty and caricature. Mr. Walker states it as a fact that while Oxford-trained statesmen "follow in a gentlemanly way along the channels of personal advantage, of social success, of universal respectability, London has 22,000 homeless ones in her streets". He does not mention the number for New York. And he fails to recall—probably because he did not know it—that it was Oxford that first, in the foundation of Toynbee Hall, made the attempt to carry the influence of university men out among the masses of a great metropolis. If I may mention the name of one more Oxford man of the last generation—Lord Shaftesbury, that will be enough to complete the refutation of the charge that English statesmen neglect the interests of their fellowmen.

I am sure there must be very few in this audience who have any sympathy with the statements I have quoted. But I cite them with a purpose. I have derived, on the other hand, some relief from the information that this sort of trash comes from the same omniscient editor who once stated in the pages of his magazine that in his judgment the late Queen Victoria was a much overrated woman, who wasted great opportunities for usefulness upon trivial matters of routine and ceremonial; and who, in his desire to belittle everything that connects with the old country, also came out with an article making the British Government responsible for the loss of life in India, by taking such steps as would develop rather than suppress the plague and famine and pestilence that from time to time unhappily devastate the teeming millions of that great continent. Criticism of all new schemes, such as the Rhodes Bequest, is right and proper: it is even open to anyone to have misgivings as to the practical benefit that is to accrue from the operation of Mr. Rhodes' will. But the man who makes it the opportunity for trying to stir up ill-feeling between the English-speaking peoples should meet with the reprobation of all right-minded persons. In my judgment Mr. Rhodes' main purpose will be amply fulfilled if the American students at Oxford not only bring back from that university a better knowledge of the real friendliness which is felt towards Americans in the old country, but also if the monetary inducement which he offers should attract more of them than might otherwise be the case, to delay that rush into professional work which has been so natural in the early days of a new country, and to spend some of the best years of their lives in getting out of Oxford what Oxford is so well qualified to give—the inestimable advantages of an all-round education.

I had intended to refer also, did time permit, to another topic of present-day interest, the report of the Mosely Commission, some members of which recently visited this University along with others in the United States. In reading the volume which has been issued in the name of this commission, I am deeply impressed by the sincerity of the

compliments and congratulations which the commissioners offer to the educators of the United States. On all hands recognition is given to that wonderful enthusiasm for education which inspires everything you are trying to accomplish in this department, to your "absolute belief in the value of education, both to the community at large, and to agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the service of the state". The "femininization" to which Dr. Gilman referred as something which had appeared to excite apprehension on the part of the Mosely Commissioners, is by them connected—as I read their reports—not with the troublous question of co-education (though I do not know that any one of them would be ready to go to the stake for co-education as a principle), but with the great and increasing preponderance of women teachers in your public schools. But however this may be, the Mosely Commissioners are well aware that in the United States you have been foremost in realizing that one of the greatest discoveries of the nineteenth century has been the discovery of the value of education. You know that it is the best educated nation that wins in the race with others. Take the following: "There is in America a more widely-spread desire for the education of the people than in England, and it is generally recognized that education is to be given to every citizen as a matter of right. Each child is brought up on the understanding that it is the duty of the state in which he lives to give him the best education he is fit to receive, and the community understands that the public funds are to be drawn upon to provide such education" (p. 351). "The whole people appear to regard the children as the nation's best asset, whilst the children themselves seem to be animated with the desire to cultivate their powers to the fullest extent, because they realize that they can only hope to occupy such position in life as their education has fitted them to fill with credit" (p. 376).

More than one of the Mosely Commissioners quote with approval President Roosevelt's utterance, when he said that while education would not make or save a nation, the nation which neglected education would be assuredly undone in

the long run. With you education has come to be a "prime necessity of national life, for which hardly any expenditure can be too great," and the opportunities for which are being widely diffused, and made generally accessible, in all its branches, to every section of your great democracy. That is a result on which I ask to be allowed to join my congratulations to those of my fellow-countrymen who, in the pages of the Mosely Commission Report, have enshrined so appreciative and so illuminating an account of your educational system.

Let me close by offering a word of congratulation on the success which has attended your present celebration. I am sure I am speaking for all your guests when I say that it has been an occasion of great enjoyment and much edification to the whole body of your visitors. Especially to those of us who represent other countries, you have given one more illustration of that spirit of whole-hearted enthusiasm which pervades all your work as a nation. It was greatly to the credit of those who settled the Western States that, in the days when their thoughts must have been occupied with what many would consider more pressing problems—in a time of hurry and bustle such as marks the birth of a new community —they gave their best energies to the organization in your midst of an institution of the higher learning.

Fifty years may seem a brief space if compared, for example, with the antiquity which Oxford boasts, but the true standard of comparison is the interval of time that has elapsed since this territory was organized into a state of the Union. That was, I believe, only a few years before the University of Wisconsin was launched as a state institution upon its remarkable career. However gratifying may be the retrospect as it was sketched for us in the interesting address of President Van Hise, the representatives of sister universities feel every confidence that your outlook for the next half century is still more hopeful and promising. Those who may assemble here to celebrate your first centennial will look back upon a period crowded with achievements even more glorious than those we celebrate to-day. Meanwhile the festival in which we have been privileged to take part will stimulate the staff of this

university to even greater and more strenuous service. It is on them, along with the new President, that the burden mainly falls. I am certain that they will realize the fact that after all a university is what its teachers make it; that it is for them to keep it a living and active force in the community, which shall not be content only with teaching science and learning, as it were, ready-made, but shall always endeavour to contribute to the making of them. May this University remain through all time a centre of American national life, seeking to influence at every point not only education, but also social progress and the public service!

THE PLACE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN A COMMERCIAL CITY.[1]

THIS is to be—not an address, but an after-dinner talk. The trouble about it is that it has a title. Such talk, as you all know, is always about everything in general and nothing in particular. And after-dinner talk should never be left in the hands of one man. When such a thing happens, that man is generally voted something of a bore. If I monopolize the conversation for a time to-night, you know you have only yourselves to blame.

And on looking at it again I find the title—since there had to be a title—a rather pretentious one for such a talk as I am about to give. But after all it only conceals one's natural inclination to speak to others about what interests one most. *The Place of The University in a Commercial City.* I know that University. There is no deception. They asked me to go down to St. Louis last year to give a ten minutes' talk on *The University*, meaning the ideal University, the pattern of which—as Plato would have said—is laid up in Heaven. I couldn't go, but in replying I assumed—with a deliberate and calculated facetiousness—that they meant McGill.

There—the name will out! I understand that at your last meeting Mr. Hays was discoursing to you about the Grand Trunk Pacific. He couldn't keep away from it either! If you had got me to speak about railroading, and Mr. Hays to speak about McGill, I am sure you would have added to the gaiety of your evening's entertainment. You all know that our great railroads have lately become—through the action of Sir Thomas Shaughnessy and others—mere depart-

[1] An Address delivered before the Canadian Club, Montreal, 24 March, 1905.

ments of McGill. We are talking now about getting a new building up at McGill for the Transportation School, and we shall easily be able to provide accommodation for the Head Offices of both roads—the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific Railways—under one roof! I ought to have brought a map with me. I am told Mr. Hays had one. It would have been quite the thing to take a pointer and show you McGill as it is to-day, and as I hope it will be, say, ten years after date. The only difference between Mr. Hays and me is that he has got all the money he wants for his new road, and I don't know which way to turn to keep McGill going even on present lines.

Well, as I said, I know the University; sometimes I am inclined to think that I know a good deal more about it than I want to. And you know the Commercial City, so between us we ought to be able to hit it off. I have done ten years now of life in Montreal; and all the time I have tried to keep in view that somewhat obvious fact that if university people have much to teach such a community as this, they have also something to learn from it. When we began work in the University College of Dundee, good old Principal Tulloch addressed us in words which I have always liked to keep before me: "Nowhere does the school of life afford a better training in the qualities of prudence, good sense, sagacity, keeping your own counsel and doing your own work without too much fuss than in a thriving mercantile community. No qualities can be more useful or wear better than these, and I fear it is possible to pass through any college, or even to teach in a college, without sometimes having a conspicuous share of them." You know too how Cecil Rhodes gently satirized the Oxford dons when he said that college people know nothing of affairs, and are "as children in finance". Well, that is not the danger from which we suffer up at McGill. We have to keep a pretty sharp lookout on our finance up there. What Sir John A. Macdonald called the two worlds of LL.D.'s and L.S.D. are not so far apart from each other up at McGill after all. For myself I can say that my activities are so varied—I deal in so many different lines

of goods—that I consider myself thoroughly qualified to become the managing head of any great departmental store. There is no fear of anyone in my position, or with my duties, becoming what Lord Palmerston contemptuously called (speaking, by the way, of Germany) merely a "d——d Professor".

If I know the University, you know the City, and it is this that lends such a piquancy to our meeting here to-night. We Professors live up on the heights, and seldom find it necessary to go down town at all, except in the course of the arduous and unequal struggle to pay our monthly bills. You are down town all the time, engaged in acquiring a superabundance of dollars such as may set you free from all these anxieties. And then we meet. You have made your pile and you want to consult me as to what you shall do with it, or some of it—what channel of benevolence and public spirit you should select in which to cause the golden shower to flow. Can there be any doubt as to my reply?

One of my colleagues who recently left Montreal to return to Kingston spoke, with much praise for McGill itself, of the "depressing unsympathetic plutocratic atmosphere" with which it has to contend in the city of Montreal. What can he have meant? Montreal prides itself on what it has done for its English-speaking University. Our existing prosperity is the result of the benefactions of various Montreal families and individuals, whom it would be superfluous here to mention. On the other hand, I could cite you the names of many citizens who, dying within the last ten years, have left millions of dollars behind them, without appearing ever to have given much thought to the higher interests of the community in which they had amassed their wealth. And what of the rank and file? Perhaps Professor Macnaughton meant that the rush of life and the scramble for a bare existence is so great in this city that many people have hardly the time to think of higher things. You know how powerfully he preached the gospel of culture, and how he protested against the view that the true end of education is to make money. Such a view cannot be accepted even for

the professional departments which it is our duty as well as our interest to foster in a commercial community such as this. Perhaps all that Professor Macnaughton meant to plead for is a little more sympathy—on the part of all classes of society—with the work which McGill represents and with the workers who are carrying it on. On their behalf I shall venture to assert—and the future will prove my statement true—that not the least of the obligations which this community is incurring in connexion with higher education today is towards that body of men who, with next to no margin of profit, after providing themselves with the necessaries of life, are content to toil on from year to year at the subjects with which they wish to have their names identified. College work, as we know it in McGill, is just about the most unremunerative service of modern times. I sometimes tell my colleagues that the one reward they are sure of is that—if everything goes well—they may have their names mentioned in the evening paper thirty years after date! A recent writer—who can speak with some authority on the subject—has gone so far as to say that the great fabric of higher education "owes its existence in great measure to the willingness of college professors to bear a great part of the cost". Their salaries, small enough to begin with, show little disposition to keep pace with the increased cost of living and with the higher standard of attainment that is now-a-days required of anyone who offers himself for college work. "Preparation for college teaching," says the same writer,[1] "is more exacting than that for any other profession, medicine not excepted. The prospect of spending seven years in preparation, of working afterwards as an assistant for several years at a salary of $700 or $800, for several years more at a small advance, and of attaining at middle age a salary not much greater than the wages of a switchman in an eastern railway yard . . . is by no means alluring to a man unwilling to remain celibate through life."

[1] Professor John J. Stevenson, on "The Status of American Professors," "Popular Science Monthly," December, 1904.

It seems to me that this is a condition of things which needs a little ventilation and discussion, especially in a community which affects to believe that its University is rich beyond the dreams of avarice. I do not know what harm may not have been done by the oft-repeated statement that McGill is amply provided for out of the abundant means of her wealthy benefactors. Individuals cannot be expected to do everything, no matter how wealthy they may be, and it is a very poor form of gratitude which suggests that they should be called on to do more. I look for an alleviation of present conditions in a more widespread appreciation throughout the community of the needs of our University, and a bridging of the gulf which sometimes exists between professors, as men and as workers, and the citizens among whom they are living and working. Meanwhile, it is well that I should take this opportunity of stating the fact: so far from being excessively rich, there are many departments, as I could easily show you in detail, in which Old McGill is *at a standstill*—for want of money.

The explanation is, of course, to be found in the manifold variety of our present operations, and also—paradoxical as it may seem—in the very success which has attended them. That success itself creates new necessities. There never was any need for regarding universities as fashioned in the same mould, and the university in the commercial city has long ago overpassed the limits of the old Arts college. So much is this the case that our enterprising American friends have actually sought to establish a new connotation for each of the words *college* and *university*, different from that which has been in use in other countries. In cases where the designation of *university* is something more than merely a "majestic synonym" for *college*, it implies in America the presence of professional faculties. And the tendency in these professional faculties is to follow the example of Germany, and to insist on a college degree as a prerequisite for entrance. We have not got that length in McGill yet, though a growing number of our students voluntarily take the Arts course first. But it has come to be the established

system at Harvard for Law, Medicine, and Theology; at Columbia for Law; and at Johns Hopkins for Medicine.

The great danger at the present time is that the pressing demands of commercial life, and the intensely practical attitude which is forced as a consequence on American higher education, may interfere with the natural course of development along this line, and may result in an excessive curtailment of the period of academic training. Few who know the conditions of our own country will feel any surprise that so many of our young men have been in the habit of hurrying at once into the professional faculties without over-much preliminary education. The country had need of them, and they made haste to reach their goal. But there is less reason now —especially with a well-developed Faculty of Arts—why McGill should continue to run the risk of turning out uneducated specialists. Those of you who know our medical student, for example, will not be sorry if he takes to heart the advice he is likely to get from Dr. Osler next month, and devotes a little more time than has been altogether usual hitherto to the needs of preliminary training.

But I must not be understood to be saying a single word in disparagement of our professional faculties. It is one of the great discoveries of recent years that there is no reason in the nature of things why chemists and miners and engineers of all kinds should not be just as cultured as doctors and lawyers. And so their training has now a definite place in all broad university systems. Take our own Faculty of Applied Science, and the splendid record it has achieved within comparatively few years. We are looking for a great development in the prosperity of this department of our work. If it could be properly cared for now, it would become one of the greatest centres for such teaching on the whole American continent. With adequate accommodation it could easily double the numbers of its students. As regards medicine, I am not sure that we have not already just about as many doctors as we want. What we need is a better training for the best of them. But there is practically no limit to the number of young men whose services will be called for by this

great and growing country in the field of industries and manufactures. It will be with us just as it has been with Germany and the United States, where the phenomenal increase in the number of students enrolled in schools of technology and in university faculties of applied science during recent years is a good index of the marvellous development of the scientific and industrial activities of both nations.

And yet there are some who profess to fear that we are over-educating our people. There might be some ground for this if we were seeking to drive all students into what used to be called the "learned professions". But, as to over-education in general, let Germany give its answer. It is calculated that in Germany during the last thirty years the number of men of university training (including schools of technology, mining, agriculture, forestry, and veterinary science) has doubled itself. The industrial life of this country has gone on developing in close contact with its academic life. The practical undertakings of German captains of industry rest on a solid basis of scientific training. Nowhere has the truth more fully emerged that Law and Medicine and Theology are not now the only technical applications of academic studies. Germans recognize the fact that it is the abstract and theoretical learning fostered by the university that supplies the basis on which rest all the marvels of modern scientific activity. And no expense is spared to carry out the work. You have heard how the great railroads of this country have recently combined to found, in connexion with our Faculty of Applied Science, a department of Railroad Engineering. But in Germany this sort of thing is going all the time. Take the manufacture of explosives. Rival concerns combined some year ago, knowing how much they depended on high science, to subscribe about half a million dollars, and to found close to Berlin an institution which they called their *Centralstelle*. This establishment, "maintained by subscription at a cost of about £12,000 a year, is presided over by one of the most distinguished professors of chemistry in the university, with a staff of highly trained assistants. To it are referred as they arise the problems by which the subscribers

in their individual work are confronted, and by it is carried on a regular system of research in the field of production of explosives, the fruits of which are communicated to the subscribers." (Rt. Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P.)

But with all this Germany does not make the mistake of forgetting the things of the mind. To show you where the danger lies here, I want to read you something which recently appeared in a Canadian journal. True, it has reference only to school education, but, after hearing the extract, you will ask yourselves what we may look for later if such things are done in the green tree. "I visited once, some years ago," says a writer in *Canada First*, "a high school in a little Ontarian country town, situate in the midst of a great stretch of beautiful and fertile soil, all of it arable, much of it wooded, and bordering on a bountiful and navigable lake. Its head-master told me, evidently with pride, that his upper classes were reading Plato's 'Laches,' and Tennyson's 'The Princess, a Medley'. Some day, perhaps, some one will have the sense to substitute for Plato and Tennyson tuition in intensive farming, scientific dairying, stock-raising, horse-breeding, poultry-keeping, fruit-growing and preserving, bee-keeping, pisciculture and fish-curing, and forest-conservation. I should think the sooner that day comes the better."

In opposition to this, let us not forget that intellectual advancement may well go hand in hand with practical activity. In Germany the application of the highest knowledge to commercial and industrial enterprise is not allowed to obscure the claims of pure culture. That is an end in itself, and if it is to be realized in its greatest perfection it must be sought in and for itself. In the schools of our Province, conditions would be worse than they are at present if the writer of the extract just quoted were allowed to have his way. What we need in our schools is not a longer list of subjects, but some method which shall secure that the pupils know a few things well. The instruction given should be more thorough and less diffuse. It saddens me to realize at times the contemptuous attitude of persons who think they know what ought to be taught in schools towards some of us

who are professionally identified with teaching interests. The country districts, for instance, are jealous of the control which the University rightly claims to exercise over the whole school system of the Province. Not more than 5 per cent of the pupils, they say, are going to the University; therefore the University should leave the 95 per cent alone! Two points of view occur to me here: first, that so far as true education is concerned, the needs of the 95 per cent are not really so different after all from the needs of the 5 per cent; and, secondly, that the University which would seek to set up an impassable barrier, as regards entrance, between the majority of the scholars and the smaller remnant, in estimating the results of efficient school-teaching, would stamp itself as hopelessly out of date. But this is a subject which is more proper to the atmosphere of teachers' conventions than to this. I shall only repeat that the influence of a modern and well-regulated University ought to be allowed to permeate all strata of the educational fabric.

This reminds me to refer to the new outlook that has opened up for common school education in Quebec since Professor Robertson was authorized to make the announcement of Sir William Macdonald's benevolent intentions in regard to it. Let me here quote what has been appropriately said by one of my University confrères—Professor Cappon of Queen's College, Kingston—in praise of our greatest educational benefactor: "His name will remain honourably identified in the minds of his countrymen with educational work in Canada when that of many a politician now occupying much of the public attention will be mentioned only to illustrate the curious psychological features of the political corruption of the age" ("Queen's Quarterly," January, 1905, p. 315). Not the least important feature of the new order of things is the proposed transference of the McGill Normal School to Ste. Anne; and with the guarantee of continued University supervision and control of the work of training, I am sure that this change to improved conditions will be hailed with the greatest satisfaction by all who are interested in the educational progress of our Province. As to the new College

of Agriculture, I cannot claim to speak with the same authority. It had always been one of my pious aspirations that the McGill Faculty of Comparative Medicine and Veterinary Science should rise again, as it were, from its ashes, and recommence work on a larger scale; and this need will, no doubt, not be lost sight of by the new foundation. It used to be said in Scotland that the path was well-trodden from the University to the farm-house. Sir William is engaged in building a road *back to the farm*, and when agriculture has been rendered increasingly profitable by the larger use of scientific methods, farming ought to become as attractive to our young men as other avocations are at present.

I had almost forgotten to say a word on another subject which has been recently much in my thoughts—the possibility of instituting a commercial course at McGill for young men who intend to follow a business career. Provided the standard of entrance could be maintained, it would be comparatively easy to add to the subjects of the first two years of the Arts course, which already includes such essentials as history, modern languages, and mathematics, teaching in commercial geography, descriptive economics, and so forth, leading to a diploma conferred in connexion with our present Intermediate Examination. With the co-operation of employers, hours could also be arranged for further study in the succeeding years of the curriculum—including political economy, economic history, accounting, mercantile law and practice, banking and insurance, and the principles underlying successful business management. Such a department, centring around our School of Economics and Political Science, might provide more or less systematic training also in the methods of government and administration, in statistics and social investigation, in the study of the municipal system and the legislative control of industry and commerce. I am a believer in the possibility of inspiring, through education, that feeling of unity which is so indispensable in members of the same civic community, citizens of the same state, joint heirs of the same imperial heritage. Who can doubt, for example, that some of the problems that confront us in re-

gard to imperial questions at the present moment, as well as those likely to develop under the surprising changes that are going on in the Orient, might be more efficiently solved if a greater proportion of our people were brought into intelligent touch with the interests which such problems represent?

The self-government on which we rightly insist should have a sound basis of education to support it. The relations of the British Empire to its colonies, and its best methods of dealing with foreign countries—such subjects are best understood by those who have made a special study of them, and especially those who have had already the advantage of gaining some instruction in such branches as economic science, political and commercial history, and commercial law. Such a start has lately been made in the University of Birmingham, although that University is still without the two Chairs of History and Economics of which McGill can boast. It should not be above our capacity to organize something of the same kind for Montreal. There are in this city, as in most other cities of the same size and importance, "men of business skilled in finance, in banking, in exchange, great organizers and administrators, experts in various lines of commerce," who might be willing perhaps, as visiting lecturers, to devote some portion of their time and energy to the training of our youth. Where that has been attempted elsewhere, the process has been found to be mutually beneficial, for those who undertake the task of instructing others soon realize that there are few things more truly educative than the attempt to put one's own ideas into conscious order and expound them to others.

To conclude. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Universities on this side of the Atlantic is their breadth of aim. They train for citizenship. They are not a thing apart as Universities were in former days, remote from the life of the people. And they try to inculcate the duty of taking an interest in affairs, with the view of shaping public opinion and influencing public action. Let me quote Professor Macnaughton: "The Universities are here mainly to supply the nation with more light. No doubt it is also part of their

business to provide men equipped to render to the community particular services requiring special knowledge and technical training. But their highest and most characteristic, their indispensable function, is the general and wider one, namely, to turn out men of disciplined intellect." To those who bear this truth in mind it must be obvious that the disparaging talk to which we have sometimes to listen in regard to old-world centres of education is not always well founded. For it must be admitted that tried by this test of the service they render to the nation, Oxford and Cambridge are not found wholly wanting. Though local conditions may seem to us, in a great commercial centre, to impose limitations and restrictions on their work, the English Universities can claim that they have helped to realize the aspirations of the *Bidding Prayer*, used every Sunday before the University sermon, "that there may never be wanting a due supply of persons qualified to serve God in Church and State". But it is more by influencing the privileged few than by getting at the masses of the people that they do their direct educational work. In the past their influence on the governing classes has been conspicuous. It is bound up with the residential system, which is so potent a factor in social training, and in the moulding of character. It was this, as well as his own connexion with Oriel College, that turned Mr. Rhodes's thoughts to Oxford, though we know from his will that he might otherwise have preferred Edinburgh.

That brings me to the question of residences for our students, a pressing need, the supply of which would enable us to show that our interest in our young constituents does not confine itself to the lecture-rooms and laboratories. Instruction is given there, but I do not know of anyone who would hold that the class-room is a completely equipped field for the training of character. In this aspect McGill is only a stepmother to her children. She leaves them, so far as residence is concerned, to find lodging where they may. The great gift of the Union or Club-house, now in course of erection at Sir William Macdonald's expense, will furnish a valuable counter-attraction to the cheap restaurant. But, as

to residence, if any of your members who have gone into the question of residential flats, built with a view to profit, would care to extend his interest in the subject to the needs of McGill students, I shall be glad to put him in the way of a good thing. At Oxford and Cambridge the residential system has been carried to such lengths in the course of centuries that the colleges dominate the University, which exists as a separate corporation only for examinations, degrees, and other general purposes. Here in Montreal things began the other way on. The University is firmly established, but the interests of the whole student body would be greatly advanced if we could now provide residential halls, like the dormitories at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. To me it seems just about the least we could do, looking to the formation of character —and it is perhaps all the more incumbent on us as we are forbidden by our constitution to have any definite church connexion. Religious zeal is forbidden to us as a corporation, and we have to substitute for it what a late Archbishop of Canterbury said would do equally well, the cultivation of a "quiet sense of duty".

That is a point which could be easily elaborated, but I shall leave you to fill in the outline for yourselves. You know what difficulties and temptations beset a young man who comes up to reside for the first time in a great centre of population such as this. It is not creditable to Montreal, in my judgment, that she should plume herself on having a great University which aims at playing an important part in our national life, and yet show such an utter disregard for the comfort and social well-being of its students. Some may think that, like others, students should take their chances, and learn in the school of experience. For immature young men that is emphatically a "fool-school," and the cost of tuition is excessive. Many fall by the way who could, under healthier conditions, be guided over the stony ground.

I think that this question of residence should receive the earliest possible attention from the friends of McGill. In any event, I hope that I have shown that the operations of a great university should be of interest to all sections of the

community in which it is striving to do its work. In order to be of direct service we must be in close touch with popular needs. I have no fear of being considered " utilitarian ". It is quite possible not to lose sight of the humanities and yet be practical. The conditions of modern life require, in all departments, a higher training than has been necessary in the past. Education has come to be increasingly indispensable for the efficient discharge of the duties of citizenship. You know what a great uplift for the whole country is secured when its educational standards are properly set. Universities are on the side of enlightenment, progress, and truth. And I hope you share my view that what a modern university has to offer in the midst of a commercial city, so far from disqualifying a man for success in business, ought to help him forward, just as is the case with the professions.

THE EARLIEST UNIVERSITIES AND THE LATEST.[1]

Dean Judson, Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees, Members of the Faculty, Graduates, Undergraduates, Ladies and Gentlemen :

My main qualification for standing here to-day is sincere appreciation of the work you have been privileged to accomplish during the short period of your existence as a University. I want to say this at the outset of my address ; for it is no more than should be said. You may perhaps be aware that many older institutions have been apt to cherish something like a grudge against you. The lightning-like rapidity of your academic progress has shocked from time to time their quiet repose. You have disturbed their standards by crowding into little more than a single decade what ought, according to all previous experience, to have taken at least a century. You have seemed to discredit, in a way, their methods by keeping open all the year round, and so turning your backs, as it were, on that most time-honoured of all university institutions—the three-months' long vacation. Instead of having one annual commencement, like all the rest of the world, you hold this graduation ceremonial at the end of every quarter. The consequence is that, although you are only fourteen years old, this is already your fifty-fifth celebration ; and at this rate of progress you will soon overtake and outstrip the oldest universities in Europe as well as in America. Again, you stand charged with the crime of making it a practice to engage professors for piecework, returning them, after they have done temporary duty with you, to their native

[1] Delivered on the occasion of the Fifty-fifth Convocation of the University of Chicago, held in the Leon Mandel Assembly Hall, 13 June, 1905.

establishments. This procedure, it is almost needless to state, is apt to cause some heart-burning among those whom you do not honour with your choice. Even the size, shape, and colour of your "Annual Register," so different from every other known calendar or catalogue, has been made a rock of offence and a stone of stumbling. I know what the attitude was towards your early efforts of such Old-World centres as Oxford and Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and it is all the more pleasurable on that account to have this opportunity of paying the tribute you have so fully merited in spite of, or rather by reason of, your manifold innovations. To the great wonder-worker who has watched over your academic childhood I would convey an expression of my homage and admiration. Perhaps none are so fully qualified as those who are themselves university presidents to estimate what Chicago owes to President Harper. His masterly report, published as the first volume of the first series of your Decennial Publications, will long remain as a standing monument of clear-sighted, courageous, and comprehensive academic policy. In these latter days a college head is called on to play many parts. He must be a man of affairs as well as a scholar. What he does not know himself he must be able to appreciate in others, whether it be mining or metaphysics, hydraulics or Hebrew. He is organizer and administrator; happy is he, too, if he can continue for a time to give the best that is in him as teacher also! And, apart from all that, he has to keep in touch with his staff, collectively and individually, to study the interests of his undergraduate constituents, to stimulate his board of trustees, and to be ever ready—day or night, and often even on Sundays—to represent his university before the public. His function has been well said to consist in putting pressure upon everybody—including the benefactor! How well Dr. Harper has discharged these manifold duties you know even better than I do. But in the dark days through which he passed this winter, even those of us who live at a distance from this great centre, and are not in close touch with your affairs, did not fail to associate ourselves with your anxiety and grief. If anything was capable of sustaining

your President during that trying time, in addition to his trust in God, it must have been the knowledge that he had the sympathy of every academic community on this continent, as well as elsewhere.

If the federation of the world ever comes to pass, it will be largely through the influence of the universities. The earliest of them was the outcome of that thirst for knowledge which, after a dark age, marked the rising nationalities of modern Europe. These institutions possessed the highest culture of their day and generation, and were recognized as the best exponents of that culture, not only by the nations to which they respectively belonged, but throughout the European continent. The latest universities are but the most recently forged links in the chain that binds together all the peoples of the earth, uniting them in a common purpose and leading them to work for a common end. One of the most interesting suggestions of the present day is the possibility of increased intercommunication among these universities. We cannot know too much, in my judgment, of what is going on in other countries—what progress is being made, what experiments are being tried and with what results, what is the general trend of academic thought in regard to the various problems that engross attention. This is true not only of the various seats of learning which belong to the same country, but also of the attitude in which the universities of different countries might stand to one another. Now that they are coming to be more closely related to life and citizenship, they may be expected to be increasingly conscious of the fact that they have before them a common task, in the execution of which they must rest on the basis of common principles and the inspiration of a common ideal.

Certainly throughout the English-speaking world we do well to cherish every academic aim that may make for community of sentiment. And most of all can it be predicated of the modern university in the commercial city—whether that city be Manchester, or Birmingham, or Chicago, or Montreal—that the atmosphere which surrounds it, as well as the tasks it has to face, is one and the same for all. The

academic view is sometimes obscured, especially in the Old World, by the assumption that all universities, whether in small or large centres of population, ought to be cast in the same mould and fashioned after the same type. This is obviously not the case. Oxford and Cambridge differ to some extent from each other, and both present a strong contrast in traditions and tendencies to Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, or Liverpool. Each type has much to learn from the other. The problems of modern life which have become urgent in a great city such as Chicago are closely connected with the economic and historical studies pursued in the older universities; and, as Mr. James Bryce has lately expressed it,[1] "the relation between those studies and the plans fit to be followed in handling social problems may be compared to the relations between theoretic and applied science. Among the practical questions of educational methods, there are some in which Oxford can give light to Manchester, and some in which Manchester can give light to Oxford."

On this side of the Atlantic we have shown our superiority to tradition by introducing even a new connotation for the word "university," distinguishing the type, as we have it here, with its graduate and professional schools, from the old "college of arts and sciences". There is little, if any, ground for this in history. It is one of our bold American innovations. May I hope to interest you if I ask you to look back from the developed product, as we know it now, to the mediaeval beginnings in which the modern university had its origin? A brief retrospect may enable us to grasp more clearly the essential points in which the new differentiates itself from the old, as well as the points of contact and resemblance. The study of origins is always among the most fascinating of all studies, and not least when applied to the consideration of the lineal succession in which the universities of the modern world stand to their prototypes. For me this chapter of history has lately acquired something of a personal interest by the discovery that the founder of the college and

[1] "University Review," May, 1905, p. 5.

university which I represent was, before he came to Canada in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, a duly matriculated student of the University of Glasgow. Now, Glasgow was founded by a papal bull on the model of the oldest of all universities—the University of Bologna, famous for the study of the civil and canon law; so that from Bologna in the twelfth century to Glasgow in the fifteenth, and from Glasgow in the fifteenth century to McGill and Montreal in the twentieth, is but a step.

But, apart from that particular and personal reference, some degree of general interest may attach to a comparison of the forces to which the earliest foundations owed their origin, and the conditions that have given birth to such a University as this. In spite of great and obvious differences in the surrounding circumstances, there is nevertheless much of the same spirit that led to their establishment to be descried in the missionary energy and enterprise which have marked your efforts during the last fourteen years. One point of contrast, however, suggests itself at once. The various universities which were founded many centuries ago at short intervals on the European continent were the nurslings of the Church—the Church which, after keeping alive the sacred lamp of learning from the fall of the Western Empire to the eleventh century of our era, had become the great centralizing agency of the then known world. They had grown out of the schools attached to monasteries and cathedrals in which facilities were offered for the education of young "clerks," the only teachers being the monks. Princes and people might unite with learned men to supply the impetus which resulted in the elevation of such schools into universities; but it was from the popes that there came the immunities and privileges conferred on the corporations thus formed, of which the most important was the power of granting degrees, i.e. licences to teach anywhere throughout the world. The first chapter in the history of university extension was introduced when, in addition to the professional training of priests and monks, the more practical studies of medicine and law began to press for recognition. Before

the beginning of the twelfth century the rudiments of physical science and some branches of mathematics had emerged more clearly into view. Next came the scholastic philosophy, arising out of the study of Aristotle, and claiming attention, not only because of its intrinsic value as a mental discipline, but also as the key to the proper interpretation of theological doctrine.

The earliest universities were too spontaneous in their origin for us to connect their first beginnings with the name of any personal founder. In spite of the accretions of tradition, which would associate Paris with Charles the Great and Oxford with King Alfred, we may say that they did not owe their establishment, in the first instance, to individuals. They arose out of the spontaneous and enthusiastic desire for knowledge, which drew together—not, be it noted, in seclusion and retirement, but in great towns—a concourse of the most learned men of the day. The busy centres of commerce—Bologna, Paris, Naples, Florence, Vienna—became great seats of learning because they were already great cities. Privileges conceded by the local authorities to teachers and taught kept them generally faithful to the place of their choice, though unfortunate disagreements sometimes led to the migration of a whole university to a neighbouring centre. It was the papal bull which, by constituting what was called a *studium generale*, or centre of study open to all comers, elevated each new foundation to a place in the ever-widening circle of those seats of learning which, by the use of a common language and the acceptance of a common faith, held together for a time in bonds of unity the various peoples of the European world. The rapidity with which the movement spread may be judged from the fact that before the year 1400—by which date the word *universitas* had come to be used in the sense we now attach to it—some forty universities had been established in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.

As soon as the cloister or cathedral school had received papal authorization, its fortunes began rapidly to improve. Its future was now altogether in the hands of the learned

men who had first given it a name, and hence the growth of every university centre is linked with the fame of some individual teacher whose prelections on some special subject of study drew crowds of ardent young men to hear him from all quarters of the country, and even from foreign parts. For before the days of printed books the power of the living voice and of personal intercourse with the teacher was a larger element in education than it can be now. By the majority of students knowledge could then only be acquired orally. And they knew the value of those at whose feet they elected to sit, pressing after them with an ardour which summoned the great Abelard, for example, when the romance of his life was over, back from the cell inwhich he had thought to spend the rest of his days in solitary meditation, to do battle once again for the spirit of liberty and free thought.

The wandering life which many students led in search of new knowledge is, indeed, in curious contrast with life at a university to-day. It was a reversal of the circumstances under which the higher education had risen first in Greece, where the early sophists went from city to city, sometimes accompanied by enthusiastic pupils, to incite the youth of the Hellenic people to apply themselves to the new learning of which they had constituted themselves the first professors. Now, the university was to have more of a fixed home for the teachers, but not for the ideal students of the Middle Age, who cherished too lofty an ambition to be satisfied with rudimentary education, even though it might lead to immediate advancement in the profession with which the universities were so intimately connected—the profession of the Church. For years together, sometimes for a whole lifetime, they would journey on from university to university, attracted by the fame of some rising teacher who had made some new subject his own. Travelling was made easy for them; they were a specially privileged caste, for whom the roads were kept open and free of toll by royal or imperial decree, and they could depend on being able to maintain communication with their homes and on having supplies forwarded them without fear of robbery. But the poorest scholars felt no

shame in begging by the way, and in the cities through which their journey lay they would even employ this system for the purpose of raising the fees on which their unendowed professors were so obviously dependent. For if a man might ask alms to keep body and soul together, why should he not invite the charity of the rich to assist him in the studies that were to revolutionize the world?

Arrived at a university, students from the same provinces —from which they often came up in bands—showed a tendency to herd together in a way which powerfully influenced mediaeval organization. The jealousies of the rival sets who came from different parts of the country, roused to action, perhaps, by different views of the merits of some individual teacher, often developed tumults such as in some centres have not even yet been altogether dissociated from academic life; though, on the other hand, the provincial organizations must have done good service in preventing the danger of isolation on the part of poor scholars coming up for the first time, and in assisting them with advice and counsel. In Paris the system was extended into the organization of what was called the "Four Nations," whose existence is ample proof of the cosmopolitan character of the universities of that early time. Each nation had its separate houses for the sick and poor among its members, its separate officers, and separate funds on which it could draw to assist its needy scholars, or "bursars," as they began to be called when the students came to be housed in *bursæ* or "inns"—the germ of the future colleges.

Of the life of the students we have some glimpses which will enable us to contrast it with present circumstances and surroundings, and which will account for the survival at Oxford of some of the regulations at which we are told our American Rhodes scholars are apt to chafe. It was a life, not of ease and freedom, but of discipline and stern control. At Paris lecturing went on from sunrise to noon, the hour of dinner, not in comfortably equipped classrooms, but in any vacant space where an audience could be housed, the students sitting on the floor, or sometimes on the ground at the porch

of some great church. History records that the legates of the Pope censured the university on one occasion for introducing the use of wooden benches, as subversive of academic discipline and tending to effeminacy of manners. Dinner over, the afternoon was comparatively free. Then came supper about sunset, after which study was resumed.

Three hours before midnight, the chains which barred the narrow streets began to be fastened up; watches patrolled in the name of the various authorities who claimed a share in the police of Paris; and every son of learning was expected to be in bed, unless he had access to some of the towers where the votaries of astrology outwatched the stars.

Of the inner life of some at least of the students we have a terrible account in the writings of Erasmus, whose evil fate it was to pass the early years of his life in the most poverty-stricken college of the Paris University—the College of Montaigu (Montacutum). It is to be hoped the picture he draws was not true of any other place:—

"The students lived, packed three or four together, in a damp room, filled with pestilential air from the neighbouring cesspools; their bed was the floor; their food, coarse bread and scanty, varied with rotten eggs; their drink, putrid water, diversified occasionally with wine of so vinegarish a quality that it obtained for the college the nickname of Montacetum. Fireplaces or stoves they had none; filth and vermin (*pediculorum largissima copia*) assisted in keeping them from the cold, and their circulation was sometimes artificially accelerated by the aid of corporal punishment."

Not altogether dissimilar, though fortunately free from revolting features, is the description given of student life at Cambridge not long afterwards by the old chronicler Antony à Wood:—

"There be divers there who rise daily betwixt four and five o'clock in the morning, and from five until six of the clock use common prayer . . . and from six unto ten o'clock use ever either private study or common lectures."

At that hour they had their frugal dinner. It was composed of a "penny piece of beef among four, having a few porage

made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal and nothing else". From dinner to supper, at five o'clock, the time was spent, we are told, either in teaching or study; and after supper the students discussed problems or pursued other studies until ten, when, being without hearth or stove, "they were fain," says the old chronicler, "to walk or run up and down half an hour to give an heat to their feet when they go to bed. These men be not weary of their pains, but very sorry to leave their study."

It would lead us too far into the domain of history to trace the consequences for the universities of that double revolution in learning and religion, the two phases of which were each so intimately connected with the other. The Renascence, by the revival of Greek and Latin literature, first freed men's minds from the fetters of a dead scholasticism, whose depressing weight had long crushed all individuality out of them; the Reformation was an assertion of spiritual independence, breaking the bonds of the ecclesiastical system which for centuries had held together the nations of the West, and producing changes of a radical nature, not only in religion, but also in politics and education. The spirit of independent free thought had been aroused, never again to slumber; and though in church centres which still remained Catholic the new learning met with great opposition, the old traditionary system had received its deathblow. The universities were no longer to be mere "links in the chain which the Church had thrown over Europe"; they had become independent units, and they progressed toward a distinct individual existence in which different types of nationality were now allowed to impose something of their own peculiar character. Thus it has been pointed out how France, with her centralizing instincts, concentrated the study of law at Orleans or Bourges; of medicine at Montpellier; of theology at Paris; how England, with her natural inclination toward competition, relied mainly till within recent years on two universities alone, designed, as it were, to keep each other mutually up to the mark; while the various subdivisions of mediaeval Germany were faithfully reproduced in

the numerous seats of learning which sprang up within her boundaries.

In most universities there existed the time-honoured four faculties—arts (sometimes called philosophy), theology, law, and medicine; though none cultivated all four in the same degree. At Paris, e.g. theology was supreme, or rather theology and philosophy welded together in the system forged by the schoolmen when they first took the dogmas of the Church under their care. This accounts for the small consideration given to medicine and law by the English and German universities, modelled, as they were, after Paris. In course of time the division according to faculties, as based on difference of studies, supplanted the old organization of the students according to their "nations," which now became of less practical consequence.

While the universities of the North, both in England and Scotland, mainly adopted Paris as their model, those of Italy, Spain, and a great part of France itself followed the lead of Bologna. Paris stood for a general mental training, with the speculative bent natural to the study of dialectic; Bologna laid more weight on the idea of a professional training in law, with a definite practical aim. But the growth of the institutions which came after Bologna and Paris was marked by very different conditions. By the fifteenth century colleges had been numerously founded both in the French and the English universities; though the system never took much hold of either Italy or Germany. These colleges had developed originally out of the "inns" or *bursæ*, already mentioned—hostels provided under the supervision of a resident graduate as special homes for the students; which the beneficence of the rich, by endowing lectureships and scholarships, and furnishing separate chapels and halls, had gradually enabled to fix a deep hold on the constitution of the university —in fact to grow to even greater importance than the very corporations themselves to which they had been intended as subsidiary. As many of you may be aware, this is still the case with the English universities. In Scotland, on the other hand, lack of funds—as well as the sturdy independence

of the Scottish student, who even to this day is usually left to seek out his own home for himself—prevented the establishment of the collegiate system.

American universities have done well to reproduce, in their dormitories and halls of residence, this feature of the life of the earliest seats of learning. Too much cannot be said of the advantage to our students of a healthful and helpful environment; it is necessary, in fact, for the application of the doctrine that education consists, not only in the training of the intellect, but also in the supply and the use of opportunities and experience that shall go to the upbuilding of a manly and well-mannered type of character.

For centuries after their first organization the universities of Europe, with frequent internal changes, kept pretty much to the lines that were originally laid down for them. They met the requirements of their constituents by providing, under the head of "arts," a general literary culture, and also by furnishing the means of preparation for the special professions of law, medicine, and theology. The demand of the present day is different and more extensive. It is a twofold demand: first, that the spheres of professional activity recognized and countenanced by the universities shall be greatly widened; and secondly that the universities shall supply, not merely the training required by scholars and specialists, but also the liberal culture proper for the ordinary citizen. What is it that, during the last quarter of a century, has drawn toward so many departments of our work the benevolent attentions of practical men? Surely, the acceptance of the view that the university is no longer a thing apart from the life of the people, exists no longer only for the scholar and the recluse, but is eager to come into practical touch with every interest that may be helpful in preparation for citizenship and public service. The day is past and gone when it could content itself with being a mere academic ornament, instead of striving to make itself a centre of usefulness to the community. Rather has the word gone forth that learning and science are, and must ever remain, "incomplete and unsatisfying unless they can be adapted to the service and the use of man".

All this can be said without incurring any reasonable censure from those who wish to warn us that it is no part of the office and function of a university to teach its students how money can be made. The mere statement of the point is enough to remind us of the great extension which has been given in recent times to the field of university work. Many additions have been made to the system under which law, medicine, and theology were recognized as the only technical applications of our academic studies. Why, all the marvels of modern scientific and practical activity rest on the basis of the abstract and theoretical learning which the university fosters. And there seems no reason in the nature of things why engineers and chemists should not have just as broad and sound an education as doctors and lawyers.

No country in the world has had more success than the United States in meeting the demand for uniting the old traditionary education with one that shall have a direct practical bearing on the life and occupations of the people. On this continent no influences have been at work to obscure the view that it is for the interest of society at large that each member of it shall be able to claim, so far as circumstances allow, the opportunity for the full development of the talents with which nature has endowed him, to the end that he and his fellow-men may reap the benefit of their proper exercise. We have never regarded it as worse than useless—even dangerous—to give education to those whose lives are to be spent in the practice of the manual arts. "He who would seek to limit education for fear nobody would be left to *black his boots* is a slaveholder at heart"—that is a dictum which would surely be rejected by none. If you say that education breeds discontent, so much the better; discontent is the parent of progress. Let the educated man and the trained workman, in every profession and in every industry, take precedence over the uneducated and the untrained; society will be the better for it.

This extension of the sphere of its activities has brought the modern university one clear and obvious gain. It may be confidently stated that at no time has so great an amount

of public interest been taken in its operations. Like the tyrant of old, the university has "taken the people into partnership". The many share the tastes, sympathies, aspirations, and studies that only a generation ago were the hall-mark of the fortunate and highly favoured few. That a large section of the general public feel a direct interest in university matters is evidenced by the amount of space which the press is ready to devote to them. One important New York journal gives its readers the benefit of a valuable weekly budget of "News of the College World," and does not seem to grudge the room thus withdrawn from its financial and other sections. This is one result of that policy of making its affairs known to the public which changed conditions have rendered it expedient for the modern university to adopt —not with the view of advertising itself, but rather on the ground, as Dr. Harper says in his Decennial Report, that "the institution is a public institution, and that everything relating to its inside history, including its financial condition, should be made known. Its deficits have been published as well as its surpluses, and we attribute largely to this policy of public statement, not only the interest of the public, but the confidence which has been shown on so many occasions."

There is much in this that more conservative institutions in other countries would do well to imitate. It was not of such a university as yours that the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes was thinking when he said that college people know nothing of affairs, and are as "children in finance". Listen to another extract from your President's report :—

"The establishment of the budget from year to year, and the rigid adherence to its provisions, have made it possible to reduce the work of the University to a thoroughly business basis, and it may fairly be claimed that the affairs of no business corporation are conducted more strictly on business lines than are those of the University."

Business administration is, of course, quite a different matter from educational organization. But it is as indispensable for our universities as it is in other departments, and I think it is to be counted clear gain that the business men

who are generally found on the board of trustees have been allowed the opportunity of securing increased efficiency in university administration. College people are sometimes a little shy about admitting suggestions or criticisms from the outside world. To understand colleges, they say, you must be a college man yourself; railroad people, for example, need not apply. But college accounts, after all, are just like other accounts.

It is true that we are not in education for the purpose of declaring a dividend to shareholders at the close of each financial year; our returns are made in another way—by adding to what may be called, for short, the "brain power" of the community. But, on the other hand, we are all the better for keeping as closely as possible, so far as regards business management, to the methods of business. We cannot go all lengths with the churches, for example, which are often compelled by the circumstances of their work to leave a large margin for faith and trust on the credit side of their accounts. As an illustration, then, of how the affairs of the modern university have come into close relation with the facts of life, it is well to acknowledge that where efficient administration has been secured, it is mainly to be credited, not to the professors and the faculty, but to the keen insight and the wise judgment of those business men who form so important an element in our boards of trustees. Those who still deprecate the share in university administration thus given to men who need not themselves be college-bred may care to read the following extract from an address given to the students of Girard College, 20 May, 1905, by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, ex-assistant secretary of the treasury, and now vice-president of the National City Bank:—

"The professional educator is quite as likely to become narrow and provincial as is any other specialist. The president of one of our great eastern universities told me a few days ago that he had been making an exhaustive examination of the history of his institution, and he had discovered that the great progressive steps which the university had taken in 150 years had been against the protest and the opposition of

the faculty. The trustees from time to time brought forward new plans of organization and broader ideas regarding the curriculum. The faculty had in every case voted adversely, and when the changes were made, they were made only by the trustees taking the responsibility upon themselves. Now, in the light of years of experience, these changes have been seen to be wise in the main. The unavailing protests of the learned men who made up the institution's faculty are discovered sometimes to have been based on narrow grounds, lacking the impersonal view and judgment that should have been brought to bear upon the questions."

You will benefit by your connexion with the business men of this city also in another way. I understand that your President has been looking around for some new world to conquer, and that it has been decided to institute in connexion with the University a completely equipped school of technology. In no department have the business men, both of this and of other countries, shown greater appreciation of the practical value which attaches to the *highest* theoretical instruction, and nowhere has generous giving been more fully illustrated. I am not unaware of what has already been accomplished in this connexion. The report of the Mosely Commission, which recently visited America, is full of information as to what has been done, even apart from our universities, to give our workmen the scientific basis of the occupation which is to be theirs in life. With the spread of technical education, unskilled labour, work by rule-of-thumb, is everywhere going to the wall before the intelligence of the skilled workman who has studied the abstract principles of the science which is applicable to his particular industry. But here as elsewhere there is always room at the top. The field of our industries and manufactures is so vast and various that America, like Germany, is finding instruction *of the highest type* in regard to the application of science to practical enterprise a very remunerative investment. It is stated that in Germany the number of men of university training (including schools of technology, mining, agriculture, forestry, and veterinary science) has doubled itself within the last

thirty years. The industrial activity of the country has gone on developing itself in close contact with its academic life. So, too, in the United States, the phenomenal increase in the number of students enrolled in schools of technology, and in university faculties of applied science, is a good index of the marvellous development of the scientific and industrial activity of the nation. The new departure which your Board of Trustees is now about to take springs no doubt from the conviction that one of the most effective methods of strengthening industry by education is to provide the highest and most thorough scientific training for those who are to be the leaders of industry. A few highly trained specialists will always be found to be of more value to the industrial progress of the nation than a whole army of smatterers.

But I do not wish to pose as one whose main interest is in science and its application to industry. Applied science is by no means everything. Far from it: you might as well try to get bread from stones as a stimulating culture from applied science alone. Its exclusive cultivation would lead to a distortion of the true work and office of the university, which must ever have a higher aim than to qualify a man for any particular department of practical or professional activity. This fact may be in need of some restatement, for the opposite view is abroad in the land, and is at times put forward in somewhat precocious fashion. Let me cite, as an illustration of the contrast in spirit and methods between the earliest universities and the latest, an extract from a letter recently addressed to me. It was from a young man, who begins by telling me that he "expects to enter one of the large colleges of America on graduating from —— high school in about a year". He then submits a list of seven questions, which I am asked to answer "as nearly as I can". Here are three of them:—

1. "What thing do you believe is the best for a young man to follow, and from which he can obtain the largest returns?

2. "About how much can an electrical engineer graduate from your college get, and how much can he get in later years, as nearly as you know?

3. "If you think something else is better, how much can a graduate obtain in wages after mastering that something?"

I do not know how many college presidents the writer of this letter may have honoured with his confidence. He is probably a very young man. If I had replied to him, I should have been tempted again to quote a sentence from Plato, who said that education "must not be undertaken in the spirit of merchants or traders, with a view to buying or selling; but *for the sake of the soul herself*". It is with the educational value of science, and its effect on the mental training of the individual, that the university is primarily concerned, and it should give no encouragement to anyone who looks on scientific knowledge merely as a means of concrete means of profit and material advancement. I often think that in these days of electives, and the glorification of "departments" and even graduate studies, we are too apt to lose sight of the old ideal of a "faculty of arts". The university must be something more than a mere nursery for specialists. We all know what it is to have to deal with an uneducated specialist. It is here, as it seems to me, that the small college, with its more or less fixed curriculum, is having at once its opportunity and its revenge. The university must not give up the attempt to define the sphere of liberal instruction and culture. Specialization is, of course, one of its most important functions; but, after all, there is no greater service it can render the community than that which is implied in turning out, year by year, a number of students who have received the benefits of a sound and comprehensive education, and who are fitted thereby to take their places worthily in the arena of life. When I go back in memory to the old days of the Scottish universities, when the whole student body came into contact —albeit in huge, unwieldy, and overgrown classes—with arts professors, each of whom was a worthy representative of an important and almost essential subject, I realize the loss, as well as the gain, that has come to us from the revision of our methods and standards. Many of our greatest universities are now looking around for some corrective to apply to what has been described as "haphazardness" in the choice

of studies. You are probably aware that at Harvard, for example, students may graduate without either classics or mathematics; a recent return showed that 45 per cent drop classics altogether in entering college, and 75 per cent drop mathematics. These time-honoured subjects are being displaced in favour of studies which are described as "more likely to be serviceable to the actual activities of modern society". I have grave doubts about the wisdom of making so large a departure from what may be regarded as of permanent value in the traditional basis of a liberal education. Such an education ought not to be a thing of the past for those who have the opportunity of acquiring it. For them it is attainable within the limits of school and college life, provided they do not begin to apply themselves exclusively to some special training in the very first year of their academic course. There ought always to be some order, some definition, some regulation of university studies. Wherever the attitude is adopted that is implied in the well-known formula of one subject being "as good as another," we are likely, in my judgment, to be called on to pay the penalty. The university, so far as concerns what is called its "academic" side, will be cut up into fragments. Departments will be apt to be treated as wholes in themselves, rather than in their organic relation to fundamental branches of knowledge.

But, however that may be, one thing is certain: No university can be in a healthy condition which is not spending a large part of its energies on those subjects which *do not* offer any preparation for professional life, which *cannot* be converted immediately into wage-earning products, and in regard to which young men are *not* told that "their brains are merchandise, and that the college is the mill that will best coin them". In short, we must not accept a purely utilitarian theory of education. The humanities must always be allowed to go hand in hand with the utilities. And we must bear in mind that education ought to be a preparation, not for a special career, but for the whole after-life. Many of us do not command, and never can command, the leisure that would enable us fully to satisfy tastes that lie outside our daily avoca-

tions. But we do not want to forget them, or to lose sight of them. For we know that, if we would avoid that narrowing of the mental and intellectual horizon which is generally the penalty of absorption in some special calling, such tastes and such pursuits should be considered valuable in proportion as they are removed from the environment of our daily life. Students who come to this University under such favourable conditions as seem everywhere to surround it, ought to realize that, if they neglect the opportunities of culture now, they will come hereafter to regret the loss of an abiding source of satisfaction. There is always the danger that in such a centre as this material interests and material prosperity may take the edge off intellectual aspiration. Let the students of the University of Chicago look beyond the horizon of the pursuit to which they may be destined, and, by using every means of self-cultivation that may be within their reach, endeavour "sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason to the benefit and use of men".

THE CLAIMS OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN MODERN EDUCATION.[1]

THOUGH of late years more or less engrossed in administrative work, and as one may say, "corrupted by affairs," yet I may claim to have taught classics now for over a quarter of a century—without once unburdening myself, except incidentally, on the subject of this address. You remember the conservative jurist in Tacitus who told the Senate that he had often refrained from opposing radical legislation lest he should be thought unduly to exalt the department of constitutional law and history. His words—*ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer*—are applicable to the state of mind of some of us who have to go about this modern world, and especially the American continent, without saying at all times all that we think about classics and education. It would not be wise or discreet to do so. And after all the ancient classics have had what cricketers call a "long innings". We must recognize that they are not, and never can be again, the whole of education. Their position and prospects in the world at the present day furnish one of the most interesting topics of educational discussion; and when the invitation reached me to prepare a paper on the subject for this conference—though it would have been easier to offer something else—I felt myself quite in a mood to comply. My own teaching career was begun as an Assistant Professor, under Sellar, of what is still called Humanity in the University of Edinburgh. And it is not without good reason that the Scottish Universities retain that designation for their Latin Chairs. The language which was once the best medium of

[1] An address delivered before the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Chicago, 29 March, 1907.

inter-communication for the whole civilized world has still the gift of bringing those who can wield it into touch with the intellectual and spiritual record of humanity, and of giving them a quick and living sympathy with all that has dignified and glorified the mighty past. If anything is said in the course of my address that may seem to non-classical critics an excess of statement, I must beg them to remember that this is primarily a classical conference and that I may therefore speak as one who is among friends.

Nowhere is it more obvious than in America that we are living in an age of educational ferment. Apart from the classical issue altogether, which is sometimes wrongly stated and often misunderstood, many of the old landmarks are disappearing, and we cannot yet tell what the final outcome is to be. New educational demands are being made, many of them quite justifiable and excellent in their way, and the desire of all parties must be that in the effort to meet them we shall not sacrifice anything that is essential and indispensable. Nor is it only new subjects and new studies that call for consideration: the setting of the educational stage has been shifted, and instead of ministering to the tastes and interests of a small and select class, destined for the professions and the higher activities of life, we must make the most we can, through education, of all the brain power of the whole community.

The most important criticism that can be made on one aspect of present-day educational tendencies is that they are mainly in the direction of reducing the intellectual element in education and exalting the mechanical. By all means let us have manual training, for instance: I even like from many points of view the definition given by a friend of mine who said that education should aim chiefly at teaching people what to do with their hands and their feet. But we must not neglect the things of the mind, and it is simply not true to say that there is "just as much intellectual discipline derived from sawing a board straight, or making a dove-tailed joint as translating a passage of Cicero or solving a problem in geometry". That is, quite recognizably, an "excess of

statement". Science has nobler methods than that of revenge for past neglect. No doubt there is a moral quality involved in the ability to saw straight instead of crooked: but it is mere "ability," and its possessor is "habilis" or "able" rather than mentally gifted. It would be a pity if we were to deny the title of "well-educated" to every one who cannot sharpen a lead pencil properly, or even shave himself without a safety razor: on the latter theory some very eminent persons would be in danger of being branded as uneducated while waiting their turn in the barber shop!

The fact is that we are nowadays too apt to forget that the true aim of education, especially of school education, is to teach a few things thoroughly rather than many things superficially, and that general training of faculty should rank above proficiency in any special accomplishment. The desire to impart, at school, to minds comparatively untrained practical arts that could easily be acquired afterwards is responsible for some of the modern additions to the old curriculum. Then there is the delusion that all study ought to be made easy, simple, and attractive, without any approach to drudgery or even sustained effort. Why, it is the effort that tells! Some lines of the poet Cowper were lately, by two slight changes, adapted to the conditions we see around us to-day:—

> Habits of close attention, thinking heads
> Become more rare as *education* spreads,
> Till *teachers* hear around one general cry,
> Tickle and entertain us, or we die.

One excellent result, however, of the long-continued discussion is that there is a better understanding now than formerly between the contending parties. This is as it should be. Victory should rest neither with the uncompromising advocate of the classics, nor with the Philistine who sees nothing in the humanities. How ridiculous the story seems now of the classical master at Harrow who had heard Huxley lecture there. To a friend who met him as he came away he explained his presence at the lecture somewhat

apologetically—"I just went to see what this Natural Science is like. There's nothing in it"! On the other hand little sympathy is now evoked by the scientist who is fabled to have said that if Greek and Latin are not dead languages, they ought to be!

But let no one imagine that the so-called classical controversy is a new issue. In one form or another it is almost as old as the classics themselves. Mr. Sandys has recorded for us, in his History of Classical Scholarship, how at the outset the prejudices of the unduly orthodox had to be overcome. "Tertullian asked what had Athens to do with Jerusalem, or the Academy with the Church; and St. Jerome what concern had Horace with the Psalter, Virgil with the Gospel, and Cicero with the Apostles?" In a later age Honorius of Autun (*c.* 1120) wanted to know how the soul was profited by the strife of Hector, the arguments of Plato, the poems of Virgil, or the elegies of Ovid—"who, with others like them, are now gnashing their teeth in Hades!" And we are told also that Jerome, who in his more unregenerate days had read Plautus and Cicero, falling ill of a fever, dreamed that he was dead and was haled before the dread tribunal of the Judge of all men. Hiding his face before the brightness of the Presence, he heard the question, "Who art thou?" and made bold to answer "A Christian". Whereupon a Voice was heard, "It is false: thou art no Christian: *Thou art a Ciceronian:* where the treasure is, there is the heart also". Let editors of Cicero beware! From that day Jerome renounced his classics, and went into the desert, where he lived as a hermit for the space of five years.

More modern attacks upon classical teaching have had a somewhat different motive, whether they have proceeded from those who altogether dislike and despise classical studies, or from those who partly believe in their virtue and efficacy. The former include the large and perhaps growing number of persons who consider that the main object of education is to produce results "capable of being transmuted into the maximum of coin in the minimum of time," who confuse it with money-making, and think that its chief

function is to show how a living may be earned. The latter are those of our own household, who go perhaps too far in conceding that classics have "had their day," and that the stress of international competition forbids us to consider the question any longer on its merits. You know the main ground of the attack. It is urged that the student of the classics is a "dweller among the tombs," studying "the meanings of words and expressions in ancient books, representative of a once-living civilization," "dealing only with books, and having no touch with nature". The exclusive study of the past is said not to lead into life, but out of it, and the charge is pressed home that those educated on none but classical lines "often end their education very ignorant of their own country and language, and of the world of nature and men in which they have to live". And again, on the formal side, to study a language for an unspecified number of years, and at the end to be unable to read a passage not seen before, of only average difficulty—this is described as waste, especially when there are other subjects giving an equivalent discipline, such as it is, and in closer touch with the bread and butter needs of mankind.

In answering this indictment it ought not to be forgotten that quite a large percentage of the classical "failures" are persons who would probably be unable to shine in any other form of intellectual exercise. A noble Lord the other day, addressing an English audience, held himself up as a shocking example of the results of ill-directed education. He had learned nothing either at school or college that could be said to have been of any use to him. The audience may perhaps have noted that he did not put any friend forward to say what he was fit for. At the same time it must be admitted that there is really a great deal of truth in what is so often stated. Even though the attacking party sometimes uses the language of exaggeration, and fails to appreciate the educational possibilities of the studies against which they direct their invective,—though they sometimes reveal their own ignorance of what can be said, on the ground of the general cultivation of the intelligence, in support of the other

side of the question,—there is so much in their argument that the friends of the classics must bow to the necessity of justifying their cause, and also of reforming their methods, in view of the changed educational situation. For all that, they need not strike their flag entirely. No doubt much can be done in the way of reform of methods, with the result that a classical course that is to be part of a general education for ordinary people will have to go without some things that are of interest only to specialists. But at the same time, apart from the factor of mental discipline, the classical curriculum can be "shown to be not only a good basis upon which a knowledge of the modern world can afterwards be built, but also itself a training in real and important aspects of life"; it can be "proved capable of contributing a store of ideas and habits of mind which are of present value".

In every kind of conflict it is always well to look round for allies. The real question at issue is not whether education is to be ancient or modern, classical or scientific; the antithesis is rather between those literary and intellectual subjects which can roughly be grouped together under the head of "humanities" and the technical and commercial branches which—however necessary they may be in their proper place—must not be allowed to possess themselves *en revanche* of the whole field of modern education. In the effort to maintain the position that classical study is one of the best pathways to general culture, and an abiding source of the true humanity, we ought to have as allies, fighting in the van, our teachers of English. More will be said when I come to speak specifically of the study of Latin; for I intend to maintain the seeming paradox that some acquaintance with the principles of Latin grammar is becoming, especially on this continent, well-nigh indispensable for the proper protection of English.

Meanwhile it is a pleasure to realize how fully the importance of the alliance between classical and English teaching is appreciated by those who are most competent to pronounce an opinion. Take the following from a recent paper by Professor Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, on the

position of Latin and Greek in American education. "That a knowledge and appreciation of English literature should be among the resultant products of a liberal training will be denied by no one, and it is among the incidental advantages of the study of *Latin and Greek* that these *contribute* more richly than the modern languages to a *sympathetic understanding of our literary masterpieces.* European literature began beside the Aegean and the Tiber. Strive as we may to free ourselves from the spell of Homer, Sophocles, and Plato, of Horace and Cicero and Livy, we must hark back to them and own their sway, for their thoughts and imagery are in the warp and woof of our national expression. They set forth universal truths of human nature and experience in primary forms, as Euclid expressed once for all the elementary propositions of geometry. No second-hand or guide-book knowledge can give the reader of English literature the feeling for reference and allusion which those of our writers had who were saturated with the classics, and which we must have if we would appreciate them fully" (Educ. Review, Jan., 1907).

In turning over the lists of those who have become members of the Classical Associations recently founded in England and Scotland—which may be said to have been the forerunners of yours—I was gratified to note the hearty response made to their appeal not only by teachers of English, but by teachers of other literatures and by many whose work lies generally in the field of literary and historical study. The advocates of the classics ought to be able to enlist on their side every teacher of any literature whatever in their appeal to all who believe in "the supreme value to the intellectual life of the nation of the preservation of classical study as a means of the highest mental discipline for all such as have the natural aptitude and can afford the time needed to turn those studies to account". As to modern languages,[1] I am not of course speaking of those who confine their aims

[1] The only *caveat* that needs to be uttered in connexion with French and German has been framed as follows: "*provided only* that what they teach is taught in the true spirit of scholarship, and up to the same standard of thorough-

within the narrow limits of commercial utility. The ability to converse with couriers and waiters will always be practically valuable, and may even be an end in itself to those who wish for nothing more. But your real modern language teacher has pretty much the same aims as his classical colleague : he seeks to provide a literary and humane training. And he has the same criticism to meet : the man who protests against Greek as an utter waste of time will not fail to reveal his real bias if asked to pronounce an opinion, say, on Romance Philology. It is against such an one that we have need to close our ranks. His attitude is a symptom of the changed conditions under which, in a more material age, the traditional respect for literary culture is tending to become diminished, our well-to-do classes being apt to consider as of prime importance that scientific or practical or commercial capacity which is the source of their own wealth.

One compensation for the strong attacks that have been delivered on the classics during recent years is the high class of literature called forth in reply. It has been a real pleasure and an inspiration to look through this literature in the work of preparing this address. Take for instance, Professor Mackail's charming paper, read before the English Classical Association in 1904, on the "Place of Greek and Latin in Human Life". "The classics appear before the world," says Mr. Mackail, "not, as once, candidate and crowned, but in a garb, an attitude of humility, almost of supplication." Four centuries of classical training have produced an anti-classical reaction, but that reaction, he thinks, is being followed by another in favour of the classics. To quote a few of Mr. Mackail's sentences, he speaks of Latin and Greek as "mediums of the most exquisite delicacy, precision, and finish"; of the literature which they embody as "the original record of the history upon which our own history is founded, and the expression of the fundamental thought, the permanent aspiration, and the central emotion of mankind"; while the

ness and delicate appreciation which have been applied to classics in the past". And is it not the case that "the best teachers of modern languages insist that the work can only be done thoroughly on a classical foundation"?

surviving products of Greece and Rome in art, politics, religion, and the whole conduct of life are at once "the roots and the soil out of which the modern world has grown, and from which it draws life through a thousand fibres. He who truly knows both holds in his hands the keys of the past, which unlock doors in the house of the present." To the classics, therefore, he concludes we shall always have to come back, no matter how far afield we may range in trying to provide a substitute for them.

Meanwhile Mr. Mackail urged on our English co-workers that the main object of their Association should be to "quicken the spirit and renew the methods of classical education, and remove from it a dead weight of indolent tradition". It is all to a great extent a question of methods, and here we must certainly be prepared to make concessions. It cannot be denied, for instance, that there have been numerous cases where the time spent on Latin and Greek has been out of all proportion to the results obtained. It does not follow, of course, that the fault lies with the subjects. But there has been a growing conviction of late that we ought to simplify our methods of dealing with the subjects, especially as regards the teaching of grammar and accidence.

This may be done without endangering that quality of thoroughness which ought always to be one of the main features of classical study. Certainly in the schools, and to a large extent also in the universities, we should confine ourselves to what is of real and essential importance. Then we must endeavour to relate our methods to life; they must in fact be "humane". We must "treat the Greeks and Romans as living men and women like ourselves, who had cities and houses that can be reconstructed from their ruins, and used dress and implements of which a fairly clear idea can be obtained". If we can make the literary and humane aspect of classical study felt from the very first, we shall be able to interest our pupils to a greater extent than was generally the case in the days when teachers concerned themselves too much with "obsolete and fictitious forms put together by the schoolmasters of the remote past," and when boys had to

say by heart so many paragraphs of the syntax before they read any Latin book in which they could find the rules applied, and before they had any real hold on the vocabulary.

And not only must we improve and simplify our methods, we must also try to improve the quality of our teachers. You will remember what Professor Gildersleeve said: "What we want is not less Latin and Greek, but less waste of time in learning or pretending to learn Latin and Greek. . . . We want teachers who have a living and breathing knowledge of the language which they profess to teach: a knowledge which the learner can bathe in as well as drink." That is another form of the old Pindaric maxim, to "sow from a full sack". And to keep the sack full involves constant work, for which teaching duties often leave but little time.

But in giving prominence to the interest attaching to the subject-matter, our classical teachers ought not to think lightly of the importance of training in form. That after all is one of the advantages of classical study. Along with mathematics—which some minds are, however, incompetent to grasp—it stands alone in this respect as an educational instrument.

The question has been asked why the claims of mathematics are never subjected to the same searching scrutiny as the linguistic discipline provided by the classics. The answer must be made from several points of view. In the first place the study of mathematics lends itself to method, by a natural adaptation, and criticism of past procedure has been more apt to direct itself against the department where method was held to be most at fault. Again, the mathematics have not so many competitors belonging to the same genus. Moreover, many people vainly imagine that there is a practical value about mathematics that cannot be claimed, for example, by Latin. They regard mathematical study as founded mainly on arithmetic, and arithmetic touches the pocket! It does not do to dismiss the study of form as mere mechanical gerund-grinding. On the contrary, much that is essential to literary study depends on a proper linguistic appreciation.

Careful attention to words, their effect in combination, precision in their use, and accurate discrimination of their meanings, all this may be said to be a factor in literary training. The great distinction between the diction of poetry and that of prose is a fact of language, the appreciation of which is a first step towards the cultivation of the literary sense. Those who have assimilated in their own mind the stately march of the Virgilian hexameter, and have become conscious, even by the memorizing of isolated lines, of the poet's perfect work will be the least likely to fail as regards standards of taste and literary appreciation.

It is in our school teaching that special prominence should be given to training in form, and I am inclined to think that the general practice of composition should be most strongly insisted on in the earlier rather than in the later stages of the classical course. Those who are, as it were, to the manner born may be permitted to spend further time on perfecting an accomplishment the practice of which, both in prose and verse, is carried on in its best and highest form at the English Universities. But for the rank and file, given a sufficient basis of acquaintance with the language, the study of great authors should be made to take first place. The practice of written translations, with frequent reference to models of such work, is the best guarantee against slip-shod inaccuracy or careless and undiscriminating paraphrase. And in addition to bringing out the characteristics of the original, it has the merit also of teaching the student how to compose in English. You know what James Russell Lowell said: "Translation compels us to such a choosing and testing, to so nice a discrimination of sound, propriety, position, and shade of meaning, that we now first learn the secret of the words we have been using or misusing all our lives, and are gradually made aware that to set forth even the plainest matter as it should be set forth is not only a very difficult thing, calling for thought and practice, but an affair of conscience as well. Translating teaches us, as nothing else can, not only that there is a best way, but that it is the only way. Those who have tried it know too well how easy it is to grasp the verbal

meaning of a sentence or word. That is the bird in the hand. The real meaning, the soul of it, that which makes it literature and not jargon, that is the bird in the bush which tantalizes and stimulates with the vanishing glimpses we catch of it as it flits from one to another lurking-place. It was those sly allurements and provocations of Omar Khayam's Persian which led Fitzgerald to many a peerless phrase and made an original poet of him in the very act of translation."

In the colleges and universities of the United States it is possible, as a rule, to secure an Arts degree without either Greek or Latin. That is not the case with us. For various reasons Latin is given a preference over Greek and is made obligatory on all. Several compromises are being suggested in the interests of those who cannot follow after true perfection and take both! Some argue that Latin should carry the main burden of mental discipline, and that Greek should be studied rather in the interests of literature and literary appreciation. With a limitation to Latin of almost all grammatical teaching and almost all practice in composition, something more might be done than is possible at present to give average students, possessed of the necessary taste and qualifications, at least some touch of interest in Greek literature. This is practically the recommendation made in connexion with the lightening of the school curriculum by the Classical Association of England and Wales. Greek grammar is not to be discarded, not even such simple exercises in writing Greek as may be recommended with a view to the reading and appreciation of Greek authors: but both grammar and composition are to be strictly subordinated to the practice of reading. If that is not enough in the way of concession, I have another prescription, which I have sometimes been able to follow out in the case of my own students. If Latin only is taken, give exemption altogether from the study of Greek, but offer a short course of lectures on Greek literature, and the history of Greek civilization. So far as literature is concerned, the first chapter of Quintilian's Tenth Book is an admirable basis for such a course, addressed to students who are reading Latin. Those who have lectured

on Greek literature to audiences more or less innocent of Greek know by experience how fascinating the study can be made, advancing as it does through well-defined chapters, each co-extensive with a definite phase of the national history, and dealing with the marvellous way in which most of the higher forms of literature were invented by the Greeks and almost at the same time brought to perfection. Without some reference to the genesis of these types, much of what is best in modern literature is historically unintelligible. The same method might be followed in dealing with Greek politics, Greek art, Greek life and thought; and however exiguous such courses might be, they would at least guard against the danger of allowing students to become graduates in Arts without knowing the significance of such names as Homer and Sophocles, Pericles and Pheidias, Aristophanes and Plato.

And now as to Latin, I had intended that this paper should contain a short argument for the study of Latin by all who wish to be considered educated persons, but it is already getting to be too long. Let me state it, however, as my own experience that when you find a boy coming up to the University without Latin, you will have some difficulty in making out what he has put his time on. It has been said that boys leave school nowadays in a "flabbier" condition intellectually than was formerly the case, and some of us are disposed to attribute this partly to the neglect of Latin. No instrument of training ranks higher. "You may take it from me," said the late Lord Goschen, "that there are five times as many intellectual processes to undertake in translating from Latin and Greek into English as there are in translating into English from any foreign language". And a great chemist at Vienna, referring to school preparation for the study of his science, exclaimed, "Give me a student who has been taught his Latin grammar, and I will answer for his chemistry". Latin is almost indispensable as providing a basis for general grammatical study. It gives what may be called the logic of grammar, every variation of form or syntax reflecting a corresponding difference in

thought. It has been proved to be the "best instrument available for teaching the science underlying the art of expression". And Latin is specially important in its relation to the vernacular.

I have said elsewhere that "there is no greater enemy of illiterate and ungrammatical English than an elementary knowledge of the principles of grammar, such as may be obtained from Latin". It is by a mastery of Latin that English grammar is revealed, as it were, to the English-speaking student, "partly—as Professor Kelsey has put it—because it shows in a clear light those fundamental relations which in our mother-tongue are obscured by the loss of inflections, partly because the terms of our formal grammar are borrowed from the Latin and are understood in their full significance only in connexion with the study of the language for the analysis of which they were primarily devised". It is just because it is their mother-tongue that young boys are so apt to imagine they know English already. What comes to them in a less familiar form makes a greater impression on their faculties, especially when it can be brought home by comparison and illustration. "What should they know of English who only English know?" The Latinist smiles at the hot discussions that rage between disputants as to the comparative merits of such phrases as "averse from" and "averse to," "different from" and "different to". He has his doubts about "all of" and "considerable of," and when he reads in his newspaper that Greek is an "option ON the curriculum," or that the learned judge "acquiesced TO the demand," he can at once make the necessary correction. A recent educational report contains the following gem: "Recognizing the rapid strides of the Dominion in material prosperity, the necessity for corresponding intellectual development has not been ignored". Is any one so keenly alive as the Latinist to the horrors of the mis-related participle?

Such considerations help to explain why it is that there has been of recent years a rush "back to Latin". You know how it is in the United States. In 1902 it was reported that the number of pupils taking Latin as a school subject had in-

creased in nine years from 33·62 per cent to 49·44 per cent of the total number, this increase being fully twice as great as the rate of increase in secondary school pupils. In England, Latin was recently made obligatory on all candidates for entrance into the Navy, not because they wanted to keep the Navy aristocratic, as some have suggested, or because Latin is the language of ordinary conversation in the Navy, but for the reason that it is recognized as one of the most useful and effective instruments of mental training, the best possible gymnastics for exercising and strengthening the mental faculties. And it will enable a boy afterwards to "pick up" French and German and Spanish in a short space of time and with comparatively little effort. By the way, we never speak of "picking up" Greek!

In such an attitude, adopted even in the face of the practical and utilitarian presuppositions of the present day, the advocate of the classics may find ample ground for encouragement and hope. He knows that as far as language goes Greek and Latin are unrivalled for their organic structure and exquisite precision. "The teaching of them admits," says Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, "of greater exactness than is possible with a living language, in which usage is constantly fluctuating, so that there is no absolute standard, either of accuracy or taste. The data, in a classical language, are virtually as complete as they can ever be; the standards of style are acknowledged; the principles and rules of the language are worked out with scientific accuracy; and hence, to a greater degree than in any modern tongue, it is possible to say with confidence what is right or wrong, good or bad." Again as regards their substance and content the classics include, as Mr. Mackail has said, "certain specific things which are unique in the world and without which human culture always must be incomplete". The great classical style has the same relation to, and the same effect on our sense of literary appreciation as the language of Isaiah, and Job, and Paul, and the Hebraic style generally, has on our religious consciousness. Neither the one nor the other will ever pass away. Without alleging for a moment that the classics are the only needful element

in a liberal education, and without shutting our eyes to the new conditions which have been rendered possible by the march of modern science, their apologists may fairly advance the claim that, far from having been dethroned, classical study is constantly annexing new territory. Its crown is firmly set and will not pass away. In ancient literature lie all the roots —no matter to what the tree may grow—of the world as we know it to-day, its letters, its art, its science, and its politics. The great thought of humanity began with the literature of the classical nations. Classical men do well to keep an open mind towards all worthy subjects of study, provided only that they are taught by methods which fulfil the fundamental conditions of thoroughness and accuracy on which all true education must rest.

But as to the comparison between science and the classics, listen to what was recently said by a master of modern geology: "A training in science and scientific methods, admirable as it is in so many ways, fails to supply those humanizing influences which the older learning can so well impart. For the moral stimulus that comes from an association with all that is noblest and best in the literatures of the past, for the culture and taste that spring from prolonged contact with the highest models of literary expression, for the widening of our sympathies and the vivifying of our imagination by the study of history and philosophy, the teaching of science has no proper equivalents" (Sir Archibald Geikie, "Landscape in History," p. 286).

And who shall say that a limit has been set to the influence which that classical literature wields? Do we not live in an age when the discovery of a new papyrus roll—preserved through the centuries to be a link between our world and that which was before us—excites an interest that puts it at least on a level with the produce of the mine? The classics, even as we have them now, enshrine the life and thought of the world at once of its most interesting periods. And if we may speculate on what may still be in front of us, would not the discovery, say at Herculaneum, of a great library supplying many of the missing links of

ancient literature—the poems of Sappho and the great lyric poets, more examples of the drama at Athens, the lost books of Livy and Tacitus—would not the recovery of such treasures as these fill the world with a fame that would make pale the glories of Klondyke and Cobalt?

It may well be that these studies are not for all, but only for all who have opportunity. But it is our part to see that to those who seek it the opportunity may never be wanting. It will not do to say that classics are all very well for leisured people. If it be the case—as it undoubtedly is—that through the portals of the old "fortifying" curriculum men have passed to the highest positions in the State and in public life, we must take care that no naturally gifted person suffer for lack of opportunity. While holding the balance evenly amid the conflicting claims of modern studies, we ought always to secure their due meed of recognition for the classics, as representing the literature and poetry, the history and antiquities, the politics, the life, and the thought of the ancient world.

POETRY IN THE SCHOOL.[1]

It has been said somewhere that the three most characteristic symbols of American civilization are the railroad, the newspaper, and the school. We all know about the railroad, and greatly admire the untiring energy—what is called without a blush the "aggressiveness"—that has made it what it is to-day. As for the newspapers, well, perhaps it is dangerous to say much about them, except that we are always praying for their improvement. Of the school it may be said—as has been said also of journalism—that a community is not likely to have it much better than it deserves, or on the other hand very much worse than it can tolerate.

Compared with the two others, the school suffers as a rule from want of competition. It is there, and in most cases, especially in the country districts, the children have to take it or leave it. But though rival institutions may not be available, a knowledge of other school systems can always be brought to bear on the problem. Some of the advances that have been made of recent years in our Canadian schools are indirectly traceable to the stimulating example of other countries. For further progress we must look in part to co-operation between the school and the home. This was strikingly illustrated in a very suggestive paper which I had the pleasure of hearing read before a recent meeting of a local Teachers' Association. The amount of criticism that the school comes in for is not altogether to be deprecated: it is the sign and measure of the underlying belief that if all were well in the school the whole community would profit thereby. In this connexion I am in the habit of saying that

[1] An address delivered before the Women's Canadian Club, Winnipeg, 11 January, 1908.

the school should be regarded by all as part of a great social problem. It should be looked on not as affecting the individual alone, but the community through the individual, in his social, commercial, industrial, professional and cultural relations. In this aspect it is surely an absorbing theme for all of us. And in some at least of our Canadian provinces it is doubly necessary to emphasize the conviction that that country will make the greatest progress which is the first to fully realize the importance of getting at the masses of the people through elementary and other public school teachers who have enjoyed a good liberal education of the broadest and most comprehensive character. The watchword now must be to make the most we can through education of all the brain-power of the whole community,—not in the way of learning only, but of doing, creating, serving. A nation at school is the peaceful counterpart of a nation in arms.

As an introduction to my subject to-night, it may be proper to observe that the trend of present-day education is perhaps too much in the direction of exercising the mechanical element at the expense of the intellectual. It is of course difficult to say anything about education without appearing to utter what are at best half-truths. Perhaps we have heard quite enough recently about the right way to a boy's brain being "not through his ears but by his finger-tips". Both are necessary. When a man exalts what are called the vocational studies, he may not mean altogether to ignore those that are cultural. And it is the same the other way on. Few of us who have watched the enrichment that has come to the school curriculum from the inclusion in it of vocational studies can be in any doubt that we are on the right way of reform. The whole trouble lies in the multiplicity of desirable subjects. I suppose we could all enumerate some twenty-five or thirty of them, and yet we all know that the attempt to bring the pupil into touch with more than eight or nine of these is bound to end in failure all round. But each has its avowed champions—champions sometimes who refuse to be interested in anything else.

I once met a high official in the United States who saw

no need for the teaching of anything except agriculture in the country schools. Now this is a heavier penalty than we ought to be asked to pay for looking with favour on the enrichment of the curriculum, e.g. by what is known as nature study. By all means let us have manual training also in our schools, so long as it is duly co-ordinated with other disciplinary studies, and does not lead to the evasion of hard and continuous work. Among many other arguments in its favour is the fact that it will help us to overcome the distaste which many young people have for working with their hands. They don't always know, in early life, how much happier a skilled mechanic is likely to be than one who is predestined to be nothing more than a clerk in an office.

A great headmaster, who has now passed to his rest, Almond of Loretto, used to say that there were five points in a good education—character, physique, intelligence, manners, and information. Note that information comes last, though I regret to say that in examination the bulk of the marking generally goes to information. In regard to all the others the home may make its influence felt on the school. Shall we speak of manners? Or character? Down in Boston the other day I was saying that "smartness" and "pushfulness" need no longer be idolized as the indispensable elements in American national character. And do we not need, equally with our American cousins, to instil in our school children more of the instinct of reverence? "There is one thing," said Mr. Ruskin, "which I know, and which if you labour faithfully you shall know also, that in reverence lies the chief joy and power of life; reverence for what is pure and bright in your own youth, for all that is true and tried in the age of others, for all that is gracious among the living, great among the dead and marvellous in those powers which never die." "Whatsoever career you embrace," said M. Pasteur to the Edinburgh students, in my hearing, "cultivate an elevated aim and a reverence for great men and great things."

In a Canadian newspaper the other day I read an indictment preferred against the Canadian national character by an English journalist, Mr. Harold Begbie. Though couched in

somewhat high-flown language, it seems to me to deserve our attention, and I shall deal with it on this occasion for the reason that, if there be any truth in Mr. Begbie's representations, it is obvious that we shall have to call in the aid of the women of Canada to help us to cure our defects. It is as follows:—

"There are no Milton-minded men in Canada, no captains and fuglemen whose moral grandeur and fervour of imagination exalt the nation and throw a glamour about its destiny. In a young country whose brow is bright with the dawn, and whose feet move with strength on the high mountains, we look for the statesmanship of a Moses, the prophecy of an Isaiah, and the rejoicing poetry of a Shakespeare. We expect inspiration. We demand glory. But Canada disappoints. She speaks to us in no solemn and majestic tongue. She sings to us with no lyrical sweetness. In the dawn streaming with increasing brightness on her path, she sees no outline of the Throne of God, she hears no quiring of the young-eyed cherubim. She is conscious of the greatness of her future, but that greatness is all of the market-place and the wharf. She goes forward to take her inheritance not with hymn and song, but with the grim masterfulness of a merchant entering his counting-house."

The meaning of all this, of course, is that in the opinion of Mr. Begbie our civilization smacks too much of the counting-house and the market-place. We have no song to give him, no lyrical sweetness. It is not in us. In reply, may we not ask for a little time? Time is a great element in the evolution of culture, as Mr. Begbie ought to know. It has taken England nearly three centuries, since Shakespeare died, to produce him. Is it not a little odd that in his wholesale indictment Mr. Begbie has altogether overlooked our Universities? In them, and through many other agencies, we are trying to build on the foundation of material prosperity other elements of thought and purpose and aspiration that will enable us to take our rightful place among progressive nations.

In order to meet such criticism, and to take away the

ground for it, we must go on caring for the things of the mind. Huxley used to say that literature dealt with *words*, science with *things*. But surely that is not a fair division of the realm of the knowable. A thought is a thing, though we cannot see or handle it: so too is the lesson of a noble life, or some rule of conduct—set forth, perhaps, in imperishable verse. We must not exalt physics and chemistry and geology at the expense of literature and history. Nor can we afford to neglect language study—a branch of knowledge which seems so indispensable for teaching a nice discrimination in the use of words, for developing logical acumen and intellectual grasp, and for cultivating the faculty of literary appreciation. In connexion with the current neglect of language study, I am inclined to regret the comparative disuse of a practice which used to be well-nigh universal in my younger days. I refer to the habit of recitation, especially of English poetry. This seems to me to have gone out to such an extent—no doubt owing mainly to the congested condition of the curriculum—that even the word recitation is used on the American continent mainly in another sense. Is this subject encouraged in our schools as, in my opinion, it ought to be? On board ship I once heard a recitation given by a little girl, but the subject matter was so tawdry that I could not help regretting that she had been at the trouble of learning the piece by heart. So I went away and compiled a book of verse for schools [1]—full of the great things of English poetry: for why let young people "go and gossip with the housemaid or the stable-boy when they may talk with kings and queens"?

Poetry to be felt must not merely be read, but read aloud and recited. The art of reading verse musically is not perhaps an easy accomplishment, but the teacher who possesses it and who has a real love of poetry has at least one qualification as vital as any other and one which carries many others with it. For it implies taste, judgment, and literary appreciation. Even with children who are still

[1] "Longmans' School Poetry Book."

learning to read, the "tinkling of the rime and the dance of the numbers" arrest attention and fall gratefully upon the ear. It is different with prose, where the attention has to be concentrated on the meaning. Verses for young children should be read or said in a style that is half-way between speech and song, more slowly than speech, so as to allow full value to the rhythm, and to bring out the felicities of rime and versification. Here, too, is the chance for training in elocution. Later on, careful and appreciative reading becomes indispensable even for bringing out the *sense* of a poetical extract, whose full beauty is apt to be missed till it is recited by some one who is saturated with its rhythm and form and colour. "There is hardly an ear that will not respond with delight to some metrical effect—whether Milton, Swinburne, or Kipling—if only the music of the poetry can be made to ring clear." If there are some whose metric sense is defective—just as there are pupils who cannot make anything of music and singing—something can be done to cultivate a feeling of rhythm and ordered movement by the practice of reading in unison. It is obvious, however, that the finer effects can be brought out only by individual reading, whether on the part of the teacher or the pupil.

This is a matter-of-fact age, and there may be some who consider poetry to be more or less a waste of time. It would be a great pity if this attitude of their seniors were reflected in the minds of the younger generation now at school. We know how fond they are of games, alongside of which fine poetry will stand a poor chance: and even at their work they are taught to value those studies most which will help them to get on in the world—arithmetic, for example. Arithmetic is an easy subject, and I am not sure that the teacher does not give it too much attention in our schools. Of course he knows that there will never be any complaint about arithmetic: people love the multiplication-table and all there is on it! But it would be a mistake for any teacher to allow the impression to remain in the minds of his pupils that poetry is an artificial and unnatural way of saying things, embodying silly sentimental dreamy views of life,

set forth in a manner that constitutes a "laboured deviation from the normal and sensible prose way of saying a thing"; or as Mr. Henry Newbolt has put it, "a sort of sugary nonsense, a mummery which impedes the progress of business, an obsolete form of sentimentality".

One *caveat* must, however, be uttered in connexion with the advocacy of "Poetry in the School". It must be kept as far as possible from examination purposes. College entrance papers are said to "put a blight" on a school subject which should be the freest of all from the dominion of Dr. Gradgrind. We don't want to feel towards Shakespeare when we are grown up as Byron felt to Horace, or as a distinguished Frenchman felt towards Racine when he said, "We have so much *rabaché* (gabbled) Racine at school that we are sick to death of him by the time we are grown up". Superior persons have urged that neither English poetry nor English literature in general can be taught at school. They hold that literary appreciation is a faculty that cannot be communicated to others. And certainly there is the danger that when literature is made obligatory in the curriculum, the pupil is less likely to turn to it for refreshment and recreation. There is also the bugbear of the examination paper. Information is rampant here, and mere information ought to stand lowest in the list of what is obtained at school. Literary biography, for instance, is of no great importance for lower forms. The pupil who can write from memory a beautiful passage of poetry may well be excused from answering the famous question, "'Up to this date Burns was happy.' Describe his life before and after, accounting for the change." Some one has rightly said that you might as well ask a class in physics to "describe James Watt's personal appearance, and relate the principal events of his early life".

But notwithstanding this danger, the position may be maintained that poetry may be made an educational agent of the most potent kind. Before illustrating what I mean by some readings let me resume the argument under three heads: *first* as to form, and the aid that may be derived

from the study of poetry in the battle for good English: *second* as to its influence on the imagination: and *thirdly* its moral and spiritual value.

One of the greatest hindrances to good English in the school is the belief of both parents and children that they know English well enough. The father thinks, perhaps, that the kind of English that has served his purpose through life is good enough for his son, and where that is the case the home will not co-operate with the teacher in correcting what is bad and eliminating solecisms. In even touching on such a subject one runs the risk, of course, of posing as a sort of superior person, but after all the University ought to be the guardian of good English! And it was not I, but a writer in the "New York Nation"[1] who penned the following: "Speaking or writing bad English does not discredit a man or woman socially, as speaking or writing the language of the country badly would in England or France. In most American towns success in life would furnish an ample answer to criticisms on one's speech or letters: in Europe it would only make the want of education more annoying."

Now poetry is the sworn enemy of bad English. There is no room in it for any of the words one sometimes hears in current conversation—as for instance "tremendjous" for "tremendous," "somewheres" for "somewhere," "beneficient" for "beneficent," "combatted" for "combated," "aeriated," etc. Even journalese goes down before it,—as when one reads in the morning paper that the judge "acquiesced to the demand" or "counsel gave in his adhesion with the view," or "considerable of the money collected," "most always," etc., etc. Poetry will frown too on the various contortions which are taking the place of the straightforward English word *Yes*: its conversation is always *Yea, Yea*, and *Nay, Nay*. Whatsoever is invented to take the place of these cometh of evil!

That is, however, an incidental benefit. More generally speaking, the study of poetry may be said to remind us of

[1] "College English," 4 Nov., 1897, p. 351.

the beauty and value of elevated language, and of a style that transcends the colloquialisms of ordinary life. It has been quite relevantly remarked in this connexion that Sir Walter Scott in his preface to "Tales of a Grandfather" takes the view that "children equally with adults must be addressed in words far above those of ordinary conversation," though as a matter of fact he had begun by trying to write down to the level of their comprehension. Just like their seniors, children enjoy "trying to understand" things, and some verbal felicity which was not at once obvious will linger longer in the memory than pap served specially to tickle the childish palate.

In the second place, poetry is a great stimulus to the imagination, which in childhood's romantic days will be apt to exercise itself on what is less worthy of attention if it be not fed with suitable material—with all the evil consequences that are so apt to result where the emotions are untrained and ill-regulated. To quote a recent writer in the "Christian Herald": "Children live in a wonderland. All beyond their limited experience is full of mystery, is vast, beautiful or terrible, as their imagination—free as yet from the dominion of the senses—is clear, keen and effective. This is the time then in which to fill its chambers with pictures of beauty and purity. When a child is seven or eight years old, it is not too young to hang there the saintly Una, whose

> Angel face
> As the great Eye of heaven shined bright
> And made a sunshine in the shady place:

or the lovely Christabel, so richly clad and beautiful exceedingly: or that damsel whom Coleridge in strange vision saw —the Abyssinian maid playing on her dulcimer and

> Singing of Mount Abora.

Take any little lad of eight years old and read to him the grand old ballad of 'Sir Patrick Spens,' and watch how his eyes will kindle and his cheeks glow to the brave story. Or let Macaulay tell him 'How Horatius kept the Bridge'. Or let him go with the 'Ancient Mariner' into that silent sea, and learn with him the great lesson

He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small."

But lastly—and this is the point on which I desire most to insist—the teacher has no more potent aid than poetry in the task of instilling sound moral teaching into the minds of youthful pupils. For we have in poetry not merely the inspiring influence of beautiful thoughts expressed in beautiful language, though that is in itself a great gain: we have also a ready means of inculcating moral qualities as well. By it the teacher can broaden and deepen the child's spiritual nature, and by turning its thoughts to love, and sympathy, and reverence, and joy enrich in this way the soil in which these and other virtues are to grow.

There is time for a few illustrations.[1] Take as an instance of courage and high resolve Joaquin Miller's "Columbus"; or another American poem—Richard Hovey's "At the End of the Day"—which seems to me to breathe the very spirit of heroism and of devotion to a forlorn hope or a lost cause, depicting as it does the attitude of valiant men, with their backs against the wall. Henry Newbolt's "Vitai Lampada" is even better known. He was a member of my College at Oxford, and this poem was a favourite of mine long before our late lamented friend Dr. Drummond had made it so familiar. Some of our professional hockey heroes have not yet learned, as you know,

To set the cause above renown,
To love the game beyond the prize.

In athletics everything seems unduly subordinated to the desire to win, which is apt to become a positive passion. If Newbolt's poem had not referred to *cricket*—a game which has a hard struggle to hold its own with us—the teaching which it embodies might have been even more readily brought home to the hearts and consciences both of schoolboys and of college men. As it stands, it may be taken as a poetical embodiment of the saying, long attributed to the Duke of

[1] See "Longmans' School Poetry Book," pp. 393, 257, 389, 246, 315.

Wellington, that England's battles were won on the playing fields of Eton.

I am not going to speak of hymns. "Every child," it has been well said, "ought to lay in a stock of good hymns. It is not necessary that they comprehend them: their interpretation will come. When the father is no longer there to advise, when the mother is no longer there to comfort, there will be many days and many crucial hours when the hymns learned at their knees will soothe their heart's great bitterness, or enter into and sanctify its joy" ("Christian Herald"). But there are hymns and hymns, and it implies no disparagement to the Salvation Army, or even to the work of men like Messrs. Moody and Sankey, to say that not all hymns are literature. Set against hymns of the "namby-pamby, boiled curaty" type—such as we are sometimes made to sing in churches—Addison's "Ode to Creation,"—"The spacious firmament on high," etc. Every child should know that by heart. You remember the last lines:—

> For ever singing as they shine
> "The Hand that made us is Divine!"

That suggested to me that in my Poetry-Book I should place alongside of the "Ode to Creation" a recent poem by Katharine Tynan Hinkson called "Singing Stars". We are coming in sight of Christmas and I shall read it to you. It is a good exercise in versification and also in the pronunciation of classical names, beginning as it does with an address to Orion, the mighty hunter of whom it was fabled that he was fated to carry on as a constellation after death the pursuit of one whom he had loved on earth.

Take again—though they are more suited perhaps to riper years—Edgar A. Poe's haunting stanzas entitled "To One in Paradise," the last of which especially is so deeply touched with the tender melancholy that inspires the heart in times of sad bereavement. And lastly, as I had to be so hard on Mr. Harold Begbie, let me read you his splendid poem entitled "Britons beyond the Seas," which might well be taken as a text on which to base an appeal to imperial as well as to

national patriotism. The man who could write the last verse of that poem may well be forgiven for his somewhat contemptuous criticism of Canada:—

Come, let us walk together,
  We who must follow one gleam,
Come, let us link our labours,
  And tell each other our dream;
Shakespeare's tongue for our counsels
  And Nelson's heart for our task—
Shall we not answer as one strong man
  To the things that the people ask?

When teachers have access to such treasures as these—the poetry that, as Shelley says, "redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man"—they ought to have no difficulty, without going out of their ordinary beat, as it were, about importing into the school curriculum something that will help to counteract or at least to modify the somewhat materialistic and utilitarian trend of present-day education.

There is a fine passage in Lowell's essay on Democracy with which I should like to conclude:—

"The true value of a country must be weighed in scales more delicate than the balance of trade. . . . On a map of the world you may cover Judæa with your thumb and Athens with a finger-tip, and neither of them figures in the prices current; but they still lord it in the thought and action of every civilized man. . . . Material success is good, but only as the necessary preliminary to greater things. The true measure of a nation's success is the amount that it has contributed to the knowledge, the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope and consolation of mankind. There is no other, let our candidates flatter as they may."

To gain such success for Canada, let us begin with the schools. And in the schools may the high thoughts and noble language of the best poetry ever find an honoured place.

EDUCATION AND BUSINESS.[1]

When I received the invitation to be the speaker here to-day, I put before your secretary four or five subjects from which he was to be free to make a choice. It remains to be seen whether he chose the right one or not. Anyhow, if I fail to interest you in what I have to say, you will be able at least to imagine how much better I might have done with one of the others!

Canadian Club orators have come to be like our friends the parsons: they can preach from any text. That is specially true, as you must have noticed, of those among them who are Professors. You ask us to come before you and talk of what interests us most, and you take what we tell you "with your meals"! That is the prescription: as Mr. Rudyard Kipling said when he was in Canada, you "tie your victim to a *steak*," and then wait to hear whether he has anything to say. Well, the process has no terrors for me, for I have had much practice in these "aids to digestion," from Halifax at least as far west as Winnipeg. For some time I think I could even claim the record: on one occasion, after addressing the men at lunch, I had the opportunity of talking to the Women's Club on a different subject in the same afternoon.

Perhaps I ought in a way to rejoice over the choice of subject made by your committee. One gets rather tired here and elsewhere of the constant differentiation which people make between academic and practical persons. To me the academic man is one who enjoys the great advantage of being able to cultivate a certain detachment of mind that leads him to look at a question from every point of view. He is not

[1] An address delivered before the Canadian Club, Ottawa, 7 January, 1911.

necessarily dreamy and unpractical, or remote from affairs. Nor need he be what Lord Palmerston contemptuously called (speaking by the way of Germany) merely a "damned Professor". Cecil Rhodes, to be sure, said that college men were mere children in finance: but he was thinking of Oxford: he had not seen—well, for instance, he had not seen McGill! The modern University is, of course, in one of its aspects, intensely academic: what else would save us from the reproach that Mr. Harold Begbie tried to fasten upon us, when he said that Canada's greatness savoured too much of the market-place and the wharf, the counting-house and the railway shed? But it is at the same time intensely practical. That is why in some of our western centres the University question has become so absorbing an issue, dividing public attention even with the railways themselves! For myself, if I may add a personal note, I am accustomed to hold that there is no position—whether in bank, factory, or business corporation—that touches life and the practical interests of life at more points than that of the executive head of a great modern and up-to-date University.

Perhaps it is this that makes me always ready to avail myself of the opportunity of being brought into contact with the members of our Canadian Clubs. They are largely composed of business men, who can help to prevent the academic element in the community from being regarded, or from tending to regard itself, as a thing apart. Professor Seeley used to impress upon us the view that no criticisms are of greater value or deserve more careful consideration than those of practical men. There ought to be no great gulf fixed between us. That idea is an evil inheritance from the days when Universities were thought of only as preparing for the learned professions,—certainly not for those which control the world of commerce and industry. Surely it is well that in all our great and growing centres there should be a union between the men of thought and the men of action. They ought to live alongside of each other in mutual sympathy, and with the feeling that both are necessary for the common good.

What do I mean by the title of my address—Education

and Business? Is it the educational side of business, or the business side of education? Business is, as we all know—well, business is business! and as to education, nobody is quite sure what it is or rather what it ought to be: there is in fact no subject about which there is so much general disagreement. At the same time there is a profound conviction now abroad that education is a good thing for everybody, and that not only on its elementary but also on its higher side, it is indispensable to the development of a great people. My colleague, President Murray Butler of Columbia, thinks there is no more special characteristic of the American people than their "never-failing faith in the power of education to promote both individual and national happiness, efficiency and virtue". Socrates taught that virtue is knowledge, and Americans are almost Socratic in their acceptance of the principle that knowledge will lead to right and useful action and conduct.

It is in great measure the pressing demands of industrial and commercial life that are giving our colleges so intensely practical a turn at the present time, and in the effort to meet these demands, without sacrificing other interests, they seem to me to be strengthening from day to day their hold on public confidence. Here in Canada we are at present greatly interested, for instance, in technical education, which deals with the relation of science to industry, and has a direct bearing on the industrial efficiency of the people at large. Our manufactures are increasing and our education must be made to keep pace with their advance. Skilled labour has come to be more and more in demand. That is what our manufacturers need, while the operative on the other hand ought to have the opportunity of developing his industrial intelligence and so making sure of a "steady job," as well as of deserving and securing that increase of wages which should be the reward of progressive efficiency. Our aim all over ought to be "to give the people what they seek, the scientific basis of the occupation which is to be theirs in life". This may be said to represent a new renaissance, or revival, concerned this time with the scientific treatment of what belongs

not to the intellectual or moral or spiritual but to the material part of human well-being—the science that underlies and illuminates human labour, and which, in vital relation to the workshop, aims primarily at "sharpening the faculties of observation and reasoning, and at giving an elementary knowledge of the laws that govern the material world in which the workman works, such as may enable him to reason about it rightly".

In our Canadian colleges, such as the Applied Science Faculty of McGill, technical education was begun at the right end—the German rather than the English end. There has first been provided the highest possible training for those who are to be the directors and captains of industry. It is in this application of science to manufactures on the part of men who have had the highest form of instruction that Germany has found so remunerative an investment for her industries. The next step is to spread the net wide for the masses, so as to add to the directive powers of the leaders mechanical skill and general intelligence on the part of the artisans, and to increase the number of those from whom foremen and higher officers may be chosen. This is all in line with the aspirations of democracy, which ought to seek to provide equal opportunities for all.

So far as our colleges and universities are helping to meet this and other practical needs, they are simply fulfilling their manifest destiny. The development of academic institutions might be sketched in such a way as to form a chapter in the history of evolution. New types of training have been introduced from time to time, called forth by new problems, and taking their rightful place alongside of the old curriculum; and these new types all embody and give emphasis to the truth that knowledge is valuable, not for its own sake alone, but mainly as leading to action. In the beginning there was the traditional college programme that sufficed for centuries; though it restricted its practical activity to the turning out of lawyers, and doctors, and preachers: for the rest, it aimed, and still aims, fundamentally, at *training in faculty*—not the application of knowledge, but the

development of every faculty, so that the student shall be able to use his powers successfully in any direction.

The *first* radical change was effected by the introduction of courses in natural science—physics, chemistry, biology; aiming at an increased and methodized knowledge of the laws and phenomena of the physical world. Largely as a result of this there followed the wonderful expansion that has been witnessed during the last half-century—the period of material development that reads like the fairy-tale of some wonder-working magician. In this period our higher education has been undergoing constant changes, to meet the demands of commerce, and to keep pace with the marvellous inventions of science in every field of human endeavour, and with the growth also of applied art in every department of public service. In order to supply the special training and the variety of talent that the old institutions could not furnish, schools of technology and applied science—for engineers, chemists, electricians, etc.—have sprung up in scores. In Germany the number of students in higher educational institutions has more than doubled itself in the last thirty years, while in the United States the percentage has increased at a ratio twice the increase of the population. In the Universities of the West and Middle West—where the country has been in the course of settlement, and where the call for material development has been loudest—two-thirds of the whole student body are enrolled in the departments of Applied Science. Even the older Universities, on this continent and also in England, have expanded their curriculum to furnish the required training. And the partnership between technical school and University has been good for both. It symbolizes the *rapprochement* and even the reconciliation of the two great parties in the educational campaign: the champions of the "humanities" think more now than they used to do of the bearings of their studies on the actualities of modern life, while the so-called Philistine has at least a better chance of learning to see something, after all, in culture! Certainly the technical student gains in general educational training. He breathes the wholesome and stimulating atmosphere of

work that reaches far beyond the limits of his own field, and incidentally—even unconsciously—he absorbs a wider culture which he could not find outside the University. In this way he acquires qualities that not only strengthen him for his later professional activities, but also contribute powerfully to his usefulness as an educated citizen.

Engineering schools are firmly entrenched now within the University, and are as liberally supported as the older professional schools of law and medicine. That is what I have called the *second* stage of University development. Its fruits are everywhere apparent. Graduation in applied science has become a passport to success in professional work.

It is a generally accepted opinion that within a few years of leaving college the college-educated engineer far outstrips in position and salary his average competitor who comes up from the ranks. In the great Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Works at East Pittsburg—where eighteen years ago there were only four or five college men in all—no fewer than 275 college graduates secured positions in 1906.

We are mainly concerned with the *third* stage in the story of academic evolution. The wonderful advances in the way of scientific achievement, together with the concurrent expansion of our educational system, will doubtless be continued: but alongside of them have come changes in the conditions of the industrial and the commercial world—changes due to the "minute applications of science to the industries, to the practical annihilation of time and space in the business world, the subdivision of labour, and the more careful observance of the principles of economy, particularly in checking waste and the prodigal use of raw material and natural resources". Hence it comes that higher education for business life is now claiming equal rank with courses in science and technology, and is suggesting modifications in curricula and methods of instruction.

Here at once steps in the practical man with his objection "*solvitur ambulando*": you can learn business best by going into business. It must at once be conceded that the need of business experience will never be displaced by any instruction

that the college may give. But the practical man must look the facts squarely in the face. The late President Harper of Chicago—who was of all college Heads I have ever known the one most in touch with the business world—stated them as follows: "College men are being sought out in practically every kind of business for positions of responsibility. Experience has shown that the college man, although he may not have the technical training for the particular business which he enters after leaving college, requires no long period of time in which to overtake the non-college man who started in the same business years before: and to overtake means, of course, to outstrip." And again, "Great business concerns on every side are calling for men whose minds have been trained, and they are willing to give such men ample opportunity to learn the technique of the business which they are to enter, strongly confident that in the end those men will excel". And so college graduates are more and more choosing a business rather than a professional career. Statistics show that nearly one-third of the living alumni of Princeton are in business.

The problem really is, not to try any substitute for business experience, but so to supplement it that trained men may pass by rapid promotion to the highest appointments. Many of those who take a humble position in the business world at too early a period in their lives are in danger of not rising. Their habits are apt to become fixed in a somewhat monotonous routine from which they cannot receive the inspiration and stimulus necessary to success. This is said without prejudice to the exceptional cases where train-despatchers, for instance, or telegraph boys, or conductors, have been known to raise themselves, in time, to the proud pre-eminence of the railway president. If it be objected, on the other hand, that the average man injures his prospects of success if he takes up work at too late a period in his life, we may reply that the average man generally has to reach the age of 30 or 35 before his powers are fully developed and his station in life more or less determined: if he goes into business after leaving the high school—say at 18—he will

take his chances, whereas he may get two or three years more of higher commercial education and still have ten years left in which to mingle the knowledge thus acquired with the insight and practical wisdom derivable from actual business experience. It is from the knowledge, ideals, and traditions obtainable through higher study that young men may gain the spirit, the consciousness of ability, that will uplift them in the exercise of their trade or profession. An eminent authority is of opinion that just as the age limit for immature child-labour has been steadily raised in civilized countries, so an extension of the period of educational discipline prolongs the stage of mental plasticity before routine closes in on the worker—in the days while his outlook may still be widened and his character strengthened ("Educational Review," March, 1905).

The old view was that "apprenticeship is more valuable than a course of instruction," and that "the latter by delaying real, practical experience renders a mastery of business details more difficult". (The same used to be said of *teaching:* learn how to teach by trying to; but we are beginning to train our teachers now.) And the apprenticeship system belonged to an earlier period of our industrial development—when masters trained their apprentices, who were often their own sons, in the arts they had themselves acquired. This system has gone down before large-scale production and the differentiation of its processes; unskilled and rule-of-thumb work does not take a high place in the minute division of labour, in which large industries are, as it were, "stratified," with the consequence, at least in the lower ranks, of stationary and narrowing tendencies that lead to the repression rather than the encouragement of individuality. Executive positions are apt to be filled in such industries, not from the rank and file, but by men "fresh from the outside trained in another atmosphere". So in place of the personal contact of apprentice and master we may put now the discipline and ideals of education: this will excite aspirations towards better work on the part of such as are qualified to rise beyond a certain dead level in factory or shop or office, to which dead level—with

its fixed unvarying duties—the organization of modern industry too often tends to consign them.

In these days then of extended educational facilities all round, and with the raising of the qualifications for admission to professional study, we may properly ask what is being done to secure higher standards for all who are to be leaders of industry, heads of departments, directing the work of others, whether as merchants, bankers, insurance men, railway-managers, etc. Let us glance for a moment at conditions in foreign countries before we come nearer home.

Writing in the "Revue des deux Mondes," M. André Siegfried—whose book on Canada deserves the attention of every intelligent reader—attributes to the American business colleges, and to the dozen or more university faculties of commercial education, a great deal of credit for the originality of American business methods. The contrary view—that the commercial training is the result rather than the cause of the great industrial advance—has been advocated by others. The same problem has been debated as regards Germany, where an enormous growth in the number of commercial schools has come in the train of the great increase Germany has experienced in her foreign trade within the last twenty years. And it is a significant fact that a great part of this activity is due to private initiative, numbers of business men joining together, under the patronage of the Emperor, in a resolute and well-directed effort to capture foreign markets. Belgium also is well to the front, taking up higher commercial studies. Nor does England lag so far behind as one might perhaps have been inclined to expect. The new University of Manchester has established a Faculty of Commerce and Administration, the aim of which is to give a systematic training in advanced commercial subjects, in the study of methods of government and administration, and in economic and social investigation. It is a notable feature of this venture —and one which might very well be imitated here—that men engaged in business are associated on the staff of the Faculty of Commerce with professional teachers. The Council of the University of Birmingham has formed an advisory board of

business men, eight gentlemen, all of them engaged in active business life—all of them indeed being heads of great industries, manufacturing and commercial enterprises—to co-operate with the Professors in the Faculty of Commerce, which consists now of a Professor of Commerce, a Professor of Finance, and a Professor of Accounting, as well as a Lecturer in Commercial Law. There are many students now seeking the Bachelor of Commerce degree, which the University first granted last year. A similar report could be made of recent action on the part of the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin.

What are we doing in Canada? Some years ago—to speak only of McGill—I outlined certain modifications of the Arts curriculum such as might lead to the establishment of a School of Commerce, and we have since instituted what is known as the "Two Years' Course for the Commercial Diploma". It includes a sound training in the *essential branches of a liberal education*—beginning of course with English. Then we must have mathematics, for logical and exact training, but in the first year only, for mathematics—apart from mental arithmetic and modern measurements (horse power, kilowatts, etc.) and accounting—are not so fundamental for the activity of the business man as for the engineer: history, in order to gain some insight into the accumulated experience of the race and an understanding of the main currents of civilization (always, of course, with special reference to the constitution of Canada, Britain, and U.S.A.): modern languages, not only for training in linguistics and in literary appreciation, but also as "facilitating an understanding of the international aspects of present-day trade": science (physics and mechanics) for accurate observation and the study of nature's laws—also because of its close relation to machinery and the materials of industry and commerce. To these are added commercial geography and descriptive economics, dealing with business conditions in the world's markets, and with problems of finance and credit: for your business man ought to be both a geographer and an economist. We intend also to provide instruction in the principles and practice of accounting. Such teaching appeals to young

men who can give two years to such a great "utility course" without going on through the four years of the Arts curriculum.

Some time ago one of my colleagues placed in my hands a memorandum in which he seeks to make provision—when practicable—for an even fuller scheme of commercial education. Taking a leaf out of the book of our Faculty of Law, which is frequented by students who are giving the greater part of their time to apprenticeship with law-firms and attendance in the courts, he asked if an Advanced Course of two or three years could not be laid down, leading to a degree, under conditions that would make attendance possible for students engaged in offices or works during the rest of the day. He calculates that nine hours weekly would be enough if the curriculum were spread over three years. Here are some of the courses suggested—Economic Problems, Public Administration, Mercantile Law, Banking and Foreign Trade, Tariffs and Trade, Markets and Market Organization, Collection and Utilization of Statistics.

If this could be arranged, it would furnish a parallel to the methods which have been developed in connexion with the study of engineering. There used to be some discussion as to whether an engineering apprenticeship should precede or follow a college course. We have solved that problem at McGill by encouraging summer work in the shops, throughout the curriculum. And now we learn that one of the Universities south of the line is making the two run concurrently—one week of lectures and laboratory followed by one week of the shops. The experiment is said to be very successful. Its application to a School of Commerce would depend on the co-operation of the heads of business houses. There would, of course, be no attempt to give a practical knowledge of business methods and routine in the class-room. We should not follow the example of some prominent commercial schools which "play at business"—establishing miniature stock and produce exchanges, banking houses, etc., and even installing a "ticker" as part of the stage-setting of their business equipment!

Some such arrangement would undoubtedly do much to obviate the only criticism of importance that I have heard made against the college graduate, viz.: that he takes too long to find his bearings and adjust himself to the greater rigour of a new business environment. Actual contact with work during the college course, and even competition with others who may be struggling for a living, would be the best cure for this.

From all that has been said, you will be able to perceive the justice of the claim that the distinguishing feature of the modern and up-to-date University is its ability to keep in close touch with popular requirements. Its curriculum furnishes a training in citizenship and for the public service: its output of graduates proves that it is a source of supply for all forms of national activity that call for intellectual power. President Butler lately, in speaking of the basis of scientific training required even for the man of practice, said that he "looks forward confidently to the time when the management of a great machine-shop will be considered one of the learned professions". There is an element of truth even in such an exaggeration.

It is difficult to cover every aspect of a subject in a single sentence or even in a single address! I have not been speaking of all education, but simply education for business. It is not necessary, nor even desirable, that all education should have a directly utilitarian end. I have not been extolling the methods of the Business College, for example, as good for everybody; it assumes that a certain technical facility is practically all that is necessary to success. On the contrary, I agree with Professor Michael Sadler when he says: "It would be a blunder from the point of view of the later efficiency of the pupil to deprive him of a liberal education in order to impart to him an early knowledge of the technicalities of business life". The late Mr. Goldwin Smith once remarked with great truth: "the office boy of 14, if he develops solely along that line, will in his later years not be a very noble creature or a partaker of the highest pleasures". And again: "Much as education has to do with economic

efficiency, it can accomplish little unless from the first it aims at something higher than money-profit".

And we must remember that success in business does not necessarily mean success in life—especially in that higher life which it is every man's duty and privilege to develop and cultivate to the utmost of his powers. You may be the proprietor or manager of a highly prosperous business and yet have failed to make your adjustment to that wider sphere in which all have equal opportunities. You may even be—like some professors I have known—a rather uninteresting person! It is education that helps the individual to develop to the full all his native capacities. The spirit of commercial enterprise has been one of the greatest factors in human progress, but it must never be allowed to dominate and absorb everything else. We must not exalt the material and mechanical over the intellectual and spiritual. We must build up and around commerce and industry higher elements of thought and sentiment and aspiration—literary, scientific, philosophical, artistic. I know of no more effective member of society than the representative man of business—in daily touch with the actualities of life, and conversant with the whole body of organized commerce—who is also living the fuller life of the spirit and the intellect, almost as much as any scholar, scientist, or man of letters. It is as a preparation for this that the college course can be commended to those who are able to avail themselves of it. In its highest aspect, it deals with the things of the spirit. But the college is also "an intensely practical working agent—effective and worthy of support, not as a mere academic ornament, but only so far as it makes itself felt in the real life of the community". It stands and must continue to stand, not only for learning and intellect, but also for earnestness in ideal and efficiency in practice.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.[1]

THE review of twenty-five years' strenuous service may well excite feelings of lively satisfaction—and of some emotion—in the hearts both of speaker and of hearers. For myself, I count it an honour to be associated with such a commemoration and such a retrospect. To-morrow we are to be looking forward instead of backward, and I am sure everyone shares Dr. Gilman's confident outlook for the future, of which we are to hear more from his successor. Can it be because I am able to look in both directions that I have been honoured with an invitation to speak this afternoon? Twenty-seven years ago while studying at Göttingen, in Germany, I remember hearing from American fellow-students that a new star had arisen in the West, a University which intended to begin where others left off. Since then I have "done twenty years" as a College Head, and like Dr. Remsen and all other young men feel quite capable of going on for another half century. Or if I am to cast about for another reason, I may find it perhaps in the hypothesis that you did not want one of yourselves to praise Dr. Gilman and Johns Hopkins. You preferred to entrust this agreeable duty to a—foreigner! My tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth when—in such an assembly as this—I try to pronounce that estranging word. Well, if I must be what is called at University celebrations a "foreign delegate," let me at least figure as a composite and cosmopolitan example of the type. I have spoken of Göttingen, but I bring you also as a graduate of each, the compliments and congratulations of Edinburgh and Oxford, and St. Andrews—which, by the way, will soon be celebrating

[1] Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 20 February, 1902.

its five-hundredth birthday—as well as messages from your Canadian sister up in Montreal. And here let me say at once how highly we in Canada appreciate your hospitality to our graduates: many of them owe much of their success in after life to the opportunities of further study which they have enjoyed here. If anything, you are too hospitable: you have kept and are keeping too long from us in McGill Dr. William Osler.

And if I were privileged to speak, not in the name of these Universities alone, but also for all the centres of learning that have sent students on to Johns Hopkins—the number is stated as not far short of 200—the homage that is now rendered would be rendered in identical terms by all. We have all been shining in the reflected glory of the high ideals with which you began your work twenty-six years ago, and we rejoice along with you over the great success which has attended your operations. You have raised to a higher level the whole conception of academic work on this continent, and the stimulus of your example has made itself felt in every department of University activity, and that too, not in the smaller colleges alone, but even in the oldest and most distinguished institutions. Nowhere has a more real expression been given to the view that the higher teaching cannot be fully inspired when it does not go hand in hand with zeal for extending the boundaries of human knowledge: that it is not enough to teach science and learning ready-made, as it were, instead of taking a hand in the making of them: that professors must never cease to be students: and that the crown and coping-stone of education comes only through training in research and independent investigation.

The address to which we have listened is one more proof that if Johns Hopkins has been fortunate in her ideals, and in her ability to see these ideals realized, she has been fortunate also in her organizer and first President. Dr. Gilman seems to have been gifted with a double share of that supreme qualification of a College Head—the power of sympathizing with every department of academic work, linguistic, historical, literary, scientific, philosophical. It must have been this

that made him so successful in his choice of men. Where could greater distinction be found concentrated in one place than in the institution which could boast the names that are to-day on the lips of all? Newall Martin, whose physiological experimentation—so ably carried on by Drs. Welch and Osler—made a new era in the history of medicine in America: or Adams for history, Rowland for physics, Sylvester for mathematics, Gildersleeve for classics, Remsen for chemistry. I have met many who look up to and revere these men as masters and teachers: and the Journals which they founded in their several subjects are esteemed in all centres of learning as among the weightiest and most distinguished contributions to periodical literature.

That college President does well who steadfastly refuses to look upon his University as a mere academic ornament, and strives to make it instead a centre of practical usefulness to the community. Nothing has done so much as this, during recent years, to draw towards University institutions the benevolent attentions of millionaires and practical men generally. Law, and Medicine, and Theology are no longer the only technical applications of academic studies. All the marvels of modern scientific activity rest on the basis of the abstract and theoretical learning that is fostered by the University. And besides, the new type of college professor can make his voice heard not only about bridges and railroads and electrical supplies, but also about public finance, and currency, and banking—even about an international dispute over a boundary-line. I am told that the sympathies of Johns Hopkins are so comprehensive that they extend from local industries like the oyster culture of Maryland and Virginia to a study of the economic conditions of Porto Rico!

In all this we cannot fail to see the guiding hand of ex-President Gilman. His well-known interest in such subjects as the working of municipal systems, and civil service reform, and his habit of bringing to Johns Hopkins from the outside those who had some practical message to deliver, show that he has always realized the view that learning and

science are and must ever remain incomplete and unsatisfying unless they can be adapted to the service and the use of man.

And now he is to continue his fruitful and beneficent activity as a Trustee of the Carnegie Institute at Washington. A sum of money equal to that which he had previously divided among the four Universities of his native land, Mr. Carnegie has more recently made available at one centre in the country of his adoption. Truly it may be said of all departments, as Dr. Osler recently said of medical science, that at this rate of progress the centre of gravity is crossing the Atlantic and will soon be found in the United States! The century on which we have just entered is big with issues of the highest importance for the life and progress of mankind. Under new conditions and with greater material means of betterment and enrichment, the work and office of our Universities will go forward on lines which Jowett, the late Master of Balliol, had at heart when he pictured the University not exactly as a ladder let down from heaven to earth, but rather as a bridge that might connect the different branches of knowledge—so apt to become estranged from one another—and that might unite the different classes of society, and at the same time bring about a more friendly feeling among the different sects of religion. That is an ideal which I am sure the Johns Hopkins of the future, as well as the Carnegie Institute, will do much to realize for this fortunate, free, and highly favoured land!

THE HARVARD CANADIAN CLUB.[1]

"History is said to repeat itself, and the visits which members of one University are privileged, in these modern days, to pay another resemble, in a way, the visits made by wandering scholars during the Middle Ages—under conditions how different!—to the various centres of learning on the European continent. They were allowed, from time to time, to lift up their voices, and travelling from place to place, to speak the word that might be in them. There were also student migrations in these days, as there are with us. This Club represents, I understand, a body of students who come mainly from Canada, but also from other parts of the British Empire. I take it that you are at Harvard for pretty much the same reason that the students of long ago attached themselves to some particular institution: you are getting here what you cannot so easily get nearer home. I congratulate you on your opportunities at Harvard. For 140 years Harvard was British, and to-day it may be said to be cosmopolitan as well as purely national. John Harvard's College has trained many Canadian professors and has several Canadians now on its staff, just as McGill, for example, has many Americans. And may I say, in reference to the guest who addressed you here at your last monthly meeting, that I have always regarded President Eliot as one of the most dignified figures in contemporary American life? How interesting it is to reflect that 300 years have passed and gone since John Harvard was born. Set along side of that the other historical fact that next year we in Canada are going to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of Champlain's foundation of Quebec, and you will see how easy it is to connect the fortunes of the two

[1] An address delivered at Cambridge, Mass., 14 December, 1907.

countries, as I am going to try to do both to-night and in the address which I have undertaken to give to the Intercolonial Club on Monday. I am told that there are about 180 Canadians at present studying in American Universities in post-graduate departments. We are very much indebted for this hospitality. Scholarship and learning know no boundaries; reciprocity is the word there, and never has there been nor ever can there be a tariff upon intellectual produce. And it is in post-graduate work, where the student is, so to speak, something of a fellow-worker with his teacher, that we can find the best line for developing inter-communication between Universities. It may be admissible, on my part, to say a single word of the efforts that are being made by Canadian Universities themselves to extend this part of their work. In Toronto, the other day, at the inauguration of the new President, it was a pleasure to see how many alumni of that University came forward as representatives of American Universities, in which they had distinguished themselves. And for McGill, I may be allowed to say that, though we have been by no means premature or hasty in the well-considered step we have taken, the eminence of our professors has already, within the two years of its separate existence, attracted students in considerable numbers to what we now boldly call the 'McGill Graduate School'."

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After some reference to incidents in previous visits to the United States, Dr. Peterson went on to discuss Canadian relations with the United States. In reference to the Dominion, he said that he would not dwell on that favourite theme of politicians, her material resources, her fisheries, her mines (including coal), her timber, her agricultural products, her iron and steel, her pulp and paper. He wished rather to echo, in the first place, the large view expressed by President Eliot when he was in Montreal recently to the effect that the final word as to the ideal of free government had not yet been said even by the American Republic.

They believed that the Canadian constitution was, on the whole, superior. Certainly it suited Canadians better, and its elasticity had been proved by the fact that instead of the four

Provinces covered by the original Act of Confederation, the Dominion now included nine. After referring to the well-known feature of difference, that whereas in Canada the provinces have specified powers and the Dominion Government takes all the residue, in the United States the contrary is the case, he went on to say, that the Government of Canada, like that of Great Britain herself, was in closer touch with the public pulse. With them the popular will could more speedily assert itself. The power of absolute veto, moreover, given to the American Executive, for a period of four years, carried with it privileges which not even the Emperor-King could arrogate to himself. Again the Canadian judiciary and other public officials did not depend for appointment to office on public favour, and might, therefore, perhaps (*à priori*) be expected to conduct themselves more impartially than is sometimes the case under the elective system. A feature, again, on which he noted that President Eliot had laid considerable stress was the fact that the Dominion ministers on a dissolution could in Canada go anywhere for re-election. This gave the country the benefit of more continuous service on the part of their best men. He quoted from President Butler, who speaking of the United States, had lately recorded his conviction that "the system, unfortunate in high degree, of small constituencies having individual representatives in state and national legislatures, who are almost uniformly residents of the districts for which they are elected, has reduced to a minimum the truly representative capacity and efficiency of those bodies and has deprived them of many elements of power. For it is well-nigh a political axiom that large constituencies make independent representatives and that small constituencies make tools and ciphers."

Canada has other and very special difficulties to which he could not venture to make any detailed reference. He advised his hearers to read Siegfried's recent book, which was the most complete presentation of existing conditions that could anywhere be found. Life in the grand old province of Quebec was certainly full of interesting features. It might be said, with some degree of truth, that the *entente cordiale*,

of which so much is heard in England to-day, had really been invented in the Province of Quebec. It was the special duty of every resident in that province to join in the endeavour to make French and English alike forget their ancient controversies and unite ever more and more in bonds of mutual sympathy and national fellowship. No one had spoken more eloquently on this subject than His Excellency the present Governor-General, and it was a pleasure to listen to his inspiring words at the meeting held the other day in Montreal, when he had lent his countenance and support to the new Women's Canadian Club. Compared with a recent very important pronouncement from another quarter, Lord Grey's speech was certainly a powerful contribution to the work of nation-building.

"And now a word or two about the conditions of our universities. It is a favourite reflection of mine," Dr. Peterson went on to say, "that while we are waiting for the parliament of man and the federation of the world, a great deal may be actually achieved by drawing together in feeling and sentiment such representative institutions as our universities. They receive within their halls, as here at Harvard you very well know, all sorts and conditions of men, and women too, of every nation and every creed, creating thereby a real brotherhood of learning and intellect. And our universities are gaining an increasing hold on public interest, especially here in the United States. They are training now for every walk in life, including the higher branches of commerce. It is a remarkable fact, as stated by President Eliot, that at Harvard last year the majority of the Arts students went into business. That shows the extent of appreciation that is to-day entertained for well-educated men. Slighting references are sometimes made to institutions like Oxford and Cambridge, where learning had been so long cultivated mainly for its own sake, but even in the days when our universities are coming into nearer relations with practical affairs, we ought to aim at preserving something at least of the spirit of those ancient foundations, bringing it at the same time into closer touch with modern life and affairs. In all the countries

of the world, the universities can do their part in laying the foundations on which may be erected the structure of a thoroughly well-informed and competent public opinion.

"There are many agencies at work for developing the community of interests of which I have spoken. On this continent college news is a feature of the weekly edition of one of your greatest newspapers; it is sometimes included, by no means inappropriately, in the financial section! Other agencies for unification and for what may be called standardization are at work." In this connexion Dr. Peterson gave some account of the work of the Carnegie Foundation under the able leadership of President Pritchett, and alongside of that called attention to the last report of the trustees of the Oxford Rhodes Trust. Incidentally he said that Lord Rosebery's appreciative speech at the unveiling of the tablet which had been erected at Oxford in memory of Mr. Rhodes gave a better account of the great idea which Mr. Rhodes had embodied in his last will and testament than the remarkable utterance of an American editor who said, a year or two ago, in the pages of the "Cosmopolitan" that "Cecil Rhodes had not wished to send American youth to Oxford to be educated, but rather to educate Oxford in the ways of a great republic". In regard to Canada, Dr. Peterson gave some account of McGill's activity in British Columbia and elsewhere, and of Mr. Sargant's lectures, which might be taken as an introduction to the work of the British Association at Winnipeg in 1909, when the question of comparing educational conditions throughout the Empire, and securing such uniformity as might be desirable or practicable in the midst of so much obvious diversity of conditions, was expected to be fully ventilated.

"Let me express the hope," he continued, "that most of you will find your way back to the country of your origin. Fortunately that promises to be the case with our Canadian Rhodes scholars. It would be a distinct loss to Canada if they were to remain permanently away from her. The opportunities of University work in Canada are on the increase, and you will be all the better qualified for the privileges you have enjoyed while

here. I hope there may be room for you all. Do not, however, think that you have already established a claim upon any appointments that may be going, whether or not you can show that you are the best available candidate. The policy of McGill in this respect, while sometimes challenged, is quite impregnable; as between two candidates, one a Canadian and one an outsider, who are in all respects equal, it will always give the Canadian the preference, but not otherwise. This is the policy of Harvard herself. Otherwise how would she have been able to send a Canadian professor, Schofield, to represent her this year in Berlin, and to rise above the narrow petty criticism which that action drew upon her in some quarters? When you come back to Canada bring with you the best you have received and leave any untoward elements behind. If I may venture on one criticism of American manners and institutions, I may say that their worst feature, at present, seems to be a certain want of reverence and respect for authority which sometimes amounts to positive lawlessness. The tendency of modern democracies to exalt equality above everything else, leads to a false sentiment that should be combated and corrected in the earlier stages of school life.

"I have no admiration for the boy not yet out of his teens who will tell you that he 'takes off his hat to no man'. He should be taught better manners. Pushfulness and smartness are not really great qualities. Take again the question of athletics. Some of us are surprised when we read of a football team practising behind closed doors so that they may astonish their adversaries with secret and unexpected tricks. There is an epigram about football which you may not have heard. It bears the unmistakable stamp of its English origin. 'In England they play the ball; in Canada they play the man when they cannot get the ball; and in the States they play the ball when they cannot get the man.' That, of course, is a humorous exaggeration, but it points to certain practices, which if they could be corrected in the minds of the young, might be eliminated also from much that is even more important in later life. We might have

cleaner politics if we could do more to train the youth of the country in fair play and good form." The address concluded by the recitation of Henry Newbolt's well-known poem, which Dr. Peterson said was a great favourite with the late William Henry Drummond, "Play up and play the game".

THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT LOWELL.[1]

This is really a great compliment—to a near neighbour! For more than a decade I have been attending university celebrations in this country, and on occasions where delegates were divided into two great classes—American and European—it was not always easy for me to see where Canada came in. The only thing I was always clear about, in my own mind, was that Canada is not in Europe!

It is indeed on many grounds a peculiar pleasure to appear to-day as the representative of Canadian education. Perhaps among other capacities I am here as a living witness to the doctrine of presidential succession! Thirteen or fourteen years ago President Eliot was good enough to journey to Montreal in order to take part in a much less imposing ceremonial than this. He may be said, in fact, to have "laid hands upon me" when I arrived in Canada to take over the administration of McGill University; and now I in turn am helping to lay hands—not violent hands!—on his successor.

And just about the time when you were celebrating, quite recently, the 300th anniversary of John Harvard's birthday, we were commemorating, up in Canada, the 300th anniversary of Champlain's foundation of Quebec. The course of events has been somewhat different in the two countries. We cannot forget that for 140 years Harvard was British. And in listening to a Canadian address you cannot but remember that Canada shares with you the majestic inheritance of a common language and that she has forged a strong link in the chain which still binds the United States to the United Kingdom.

[1] Harvard University, 6 October, 1909.

Down in St. Louis, at the time of the Exposition, they asked me for a ten minutes' address on "The University". I could not go, and felt inclined to ask, with a deliberately assumed facetiousness, whether by "The University" they meant McGill! I have a strong, even a passionate belief in McGill, but there is room in my heart for Harvard too. The marvellous growth of this University, which has now as many teachers as fifty years ago it had students, is the mirror and reflection of the unexampled development of this country and nation. One of your own professors has said that the most prominent characteristic of modern America is its devotion to education, a devotion so intense as to be almost "superstitious" in character. I admire that superstition. Your enthusiasm for education, alike in your public schools and in your universities, is based on the living conviction of its value as the greatest and most important factor in national well-being. No doubt something remains to be done in order to give full expression and right direction to your educational aspirations. I could easily exhaust the time allotted to me by taking up some of the moot points referred to in your new President's address, and some perhaps which he did not refer to—your relation to the secondary schools, and the opportunity you have of influencing them by the character and standard of your entrance requirements, your grading of pass and honour students, and all the mysteries of what is known as the elective system.

But I prefer to refer in a single word to a wider subject, the international sympathy which is being built up on the foundation of closer relations and more frequent intercourse among our various universities, with the result of a fuller knowledge of each other and a better mutual appreciation on the part of our university men. If we are ever to realize the parliament of man and the federation of the world, I believe it will be in great part through the agency of university institutions. The more resolutely we set ourselves to know what is going on in the universities of other countries, the work they are doing and the methods by which it is done, the trend of academic thought elsewhere, the more success-

ful shall we be in fostering that spirit of academic brotherhood which may help—especially in times of stress and difficulty—to give a right direction to the forces which control the destinies of the world. I shall not speak of the exchange of professors, or the interchange of students; nor shall I refer to the Rhodes scholarships, though the subject is tempting to an Oxford man. The great obligations should, however, be specified which we in Canada feel to Harvard for the hospitality she has shown to Canadian students, especially in the various departments of her Graduate School. And now that Toronto and McGill are rapidly developing graduate schools of their own, we are happy to merit and to receive a return of the compliment! Scholarship and learning know no boundaries: reciprocity is the only word there, and no tariff has ever yet been invented that will shut out the produce of a nation's intellect!

Your new President is taking over to-day a great administrative burden, a load so heavy for one man to carry that I am sometimes tempted to think that the Presidency of a great University ought to be put in commission. It is really work for a firm of partners rather than for an individual. Which of us can fully and fitly play the part? Or rather which of us can fill the various rôles that go to the making of a great President? He has to be scholar, writer, speaker, diplomat, financier, organizer, administrator, in addition to being able to show a genuine interest in every department of work undertaken by his colleagues, place himself always at the students' point of view, and represent the institution also in the wider life of the community. These are the requirements. None but the most capable and the most versatile need apply! But when they get to work they will find that they never knew what education was till they took in hand to be College Presidents! It is then that they realize what it is to be a learner still!

The Presidential burden can be greatly lightened by the active co-operation and sympathy of the Alumni. They are a necessary and essential part of a University constitution. For Professors by themselves no more make up a University

than the clergy do the Church. The close association with College interests that is cherished by such a body as the Harvard Alumni is one of the distinguishing features of the American University system. Possibly it is in part, or was originally, founded on business considerations, the desire e.g. to repay the College for what it did for you by getting students to go to your College and to no other. And certainly the American President has a wonderful way of coaxing the money from the pockets of his alumni, even if he has to travel across a whole continent in pursuit of wealth! It is to you that he appeals when he wants to found a new chair, perhaps the newest of all, Aeronautics, or "high-flying" generally! You are the aristocracy of America. For it has been calculated that, even in this land of "democracy in education," only one per cent of your school population finds its way to College, though that is a more generous proportion than the one in every 9000 of the total population that frequented Oxford and Cambridge fifty years ago. And you are conscious of the debt you owe to your Alma Mater. Whether you have taken up some professional calling or have gone into business, you know that it was from the College you derived your ideals and methods of work, your power of clear, honest, and impartial thinking and the habit of looking dispassionately at all sides of a question before undertaking to pronounce judgment. You have benefited by the great expansion that has been given to the idea of the University in these latter days. The task of the University has grown greater and greater with the ever-widening aims of society, until, as President Eliot says in his latest volume, "it touches all human interests, is concerned with the past, the present, and the future, ranges through the whole history of letters, sciences, arts, and professions, and aspires to teach all systematic knowledge".

Let me set alongside of that quotation the words of the Prime Minister of England when, speaking of their University to the students at Glasgow, Mr. Asquith said: "It will be judged in the long run not merely or mainly by its success in equipping its pupils to outstrip their competitors in the crafts and professions. It will not be fully judged

even by the excellence of its mental gymnastic or its contributions to scholarship and science. It will be judged also by the influence which it is exerting upon the imagination and the character; by the ideals which it has implanted and nourished, by the new resources of faith, tenacity, aspiration with which it has recruited and reinforced the untrained and undeveloped nature; by the degree in which it has helped to raise, to enlarge, to complete the true life of man, and by and through him the corporate life of the community."

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.[1]

It says a great deal for our devotion to the cause that we arrange to meet together at this time of the year so far away from our homes. Certainly we Canadians have made quite a journey in order to be present with you to-night. The Archæological Institute has in fact annexed the Dominion, and we come here as your willing slaves, captive and in chains. Considering how difficult it is nowadays to get into the United States at all, this wholesale feat is worthy of record. On the cars they have a way of trying to get a head-tax of four dollars out of you, unless you can say that you are an American citizen. And they ask other questions. You know how the Bishop of London was asked if he had ever been in jail, and how quickly came the brief retort, "Not yet"! Next time I am called to give an account of myself, I shall say I am a Vice-President of the Archæological Institute, and if that is not enough for any official he will indeed be hard to please!

My colleagues from Canada can join me in reporting that the movement in which you and we are interested is going forward with much success. While we have seen fit to ask you to let us exercise a certain degree of "Home Rule" for what is known as the Department of Canada, and while we have retained the right to affiliate with any British society professing similar aims, we have never regretted the action we took a few years ago at Toronto in casting in our lot with you. There is no need to enlarge at this time of day on the advantages of overleaping in such matters all international boundaries, or on the catholic spirit which we must all unite to cherish if we are to realize to the full extent and value

[1] Annual Meeting of the Institute, Baltimore, 30 December, 1909.

the intellectual heritage that has been handed down to us. I have always been a believer in co-operation, and in some forms of reciprocity.

The plain-dealing busy man of affairs, engrossed in the occupation which directly appeals to him, often asks what is the value of old history to him. The answer to that is that every one is born to-day several thousand years old. The present is charged with the past and it is useless to attempt to get away from it. No all-round education is possible to-day if it fails to impart to the student what may be called a true sense of historical perspective. The studies which set before us the unity and continuity of history, of human life and human knowledge, are surely among the most valuable of their kind. As between such studies and those to which we have more recently been indebted for the great advances of modern science, Dr. Samuel Johnson held the balance evenly when he said, "Whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present advances us in the dignity of thinking beings". The fact is that those who speak with contempt of what they call dead studies are in danger of not realizing that it is they themselves who are—well, not quite alive!

And so the plain busy man can be made to appreciate, by means of our work, the interest of archæology, when he has the opportunity of learning that fresh discoveries often disclose long buried knowledge, and that there is literally no new thing under the sun. I shall not enlarge on the fact that there are many things in connexion, for example, with town-planning that were better done in many cities of the ancient world than we do them to-day, especially as regards playgrounds and public baths. If the appeal is to be made mainly through material remains, let me mention how in one and the same copy of "The Times" I read the other day that the excavation of a tumulus at Belmonte on the Adriatic had brought to light some prehistoric horse-chariots, and how a certain incident in the Acts of the Apostles had been illustrated by the discovery near Lystra of an inscription recording the dedication of a statue of Hermes in the temple

of Zeus the Sun-God. And hardly a year passes without the emergence in the dry sands of Egypt of some treasure-trove in the way of literary fragments from works of classical antiquity that might otherwise have remained altogether unknown.

We are not concerned, however, with material remains only. The "pots and pans" exhibited in museums of archæology are interesting and valuable from many points of view, some of which would hardly strike a careless visitor at first sight. Our studies embrace the social habits, manners, and customs of the ancients, their dress, their games, their arts and manufacturing devices, their laws, their institutions (kinship, marriage, inheritance), their medicine and surgery, their religion, their ways of life and their outlook upon death.

Especially to students of history and literature a knowledge of the recent triumphs of archæology is well-nigh indispensable. Is it not something that whole dynasties of Babylonian Kings, hitherto unknown, have now been recovered from inscriptions? that material remains unearthed in Egypt can be ascribed to a date as far back as the seventh millennium (B.C. 6500)? that our knowledge of the Kingdom of Crete, the Empire of the Hittites, and the connexion between Egypt and Ægean civilization has been going forward lately by leaps and bounds?

Especially in the realm of classical scholarship, archæology has vindicated for herself an abiding place alongside of the traditional departments of philology, philosophy, and history. Here she is a colleague rather than a handmaiden, an integral part of classical learning, valuable in and for herself, and indispensable at the same time for the full understanding of her sister-branches. I do not need to refer to the great improvements that have taken place in the editing of classical texts, especially in the way of illustrations that throw light from archæology on meanings and allusions in ancient authors, and enable us at the same time often to realize some scene or picture to the life. It is in fact chiefly to literature that archæology holds up the "lamp that may be said to illumine even the obscure corners of the treasure-house of antiquity,

and bring to light rare gems that might otherwise have altogether escaped the searchers' quest".

As regards history, the new study has shown itself to be on the whole distinctly a vindicator of tradition. A long-buried world comes to light again in connexion with Babylon, Nineveh, Egypt, Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Troy. The splendour of Priam's palace shines again from its ruined walls, and the shield of Achilles becomes a genuine work of art. For the continuance of the work on these and other sites nothing is so indispensable as intelligent co-operation among various societies. The sphere is really international in its scope, and as such it ought to assist in the development of that feeling of unity and brotherhood which is the beginning of better things for the world at large.

THE DEDICATION OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL.[1]

As a Princeton man—at least as an honorary graduate of many years' standing—and let me say an "American Whig" to boot, I rise most willingly to obey the call that has come to me on this occasion. I always cross the boundary line with the greatest satisfaction in order to be present at such celebrations as this. As a matter of fact where learning and scholarship and Universities are concerned there is no boundary line; and since the failure of Reciprocity I have been more assiduous than ever in my attendance—just to avert possible misunderstanding and to show that there is no ill-will! Why, did we not make Mr. Taft an Honorary Graduate of McGill the other day, along with Lord Haldane, when he took occasion to tell us that we Canadians "were heaping coals of fire upon his head"? Mr. Taft in fact abolished the boundary line altogether when he came up to Montreal with the American Bar Association, and annexed the whole country in the name of "neighbourliness".

But while I always rejoice to assist at such festivals in the United States, I do not remember any occasion when I have been more glad to come among you than at the present time. I know something of the progress that has been made at Princeton since the great Sesquicentennial in 1896—progress that has shown itself not only in new buildings, greater numbers, and improved equipment, but also in the development of new forms of collegiate life, and the creation of what may be called an atmosphere of increased studiousness and higher intellectual vitality. I have kept somewhat in touch with the way in which you have faced your problems—entrance requirements, prescribed or semi-prescribed work, conditions of graduation and the like. You have

[1] Princeton University, 21 October, 1913.

remained true to your scholarly ideals, and in the great expansion that has taken place you have not forgotten the lessons you learned when you were but a small college. Yours is a true brotherhood of learning, a genuine partnership between teachers and taught, where students benefit by the closest possible contact with their instructors, while the latter rejoice in the degree of personal attention they are able to give their students.

It was not long after the memorable celebration in 1896 that I met Dean West wandering in the classic shades of Oxford, where he had evidently been delegated to see what he could of Oxford tutors, and both the exterior and interior of Oxford colleges. He visited also my other academic parents, Edinburgh and St. Andrews, so that his education on the other side of the Atlantic must be taken to have been, like mine, complete. And it was with great satisfaction that I was able to quote, at the Imperial Universities Congress held in London last summer, the eloquent words in which he foreshadowed, in a recent paper, the ideals he would fain see realized in Princeton's Graduate School. He called for "young men, young in spirit, rich in intellectual and moral worth, responsive to scholarly impulses, eager to seek and to find, able to perceive, take and use the more valuable as distinguished from the less valuable material of knowledge, willing to do all and dare all to make themselves master-students . . . the sons of knowledge who are best fitted to live not for themselves alone, but first in the household of knowledge, and then in the larger society of the world".

Princeton proclaims in these words her adherence to the truly American ideal that learning must go hand in hand with preparation for citizenship. It is through the enlarged opportunities of the Graduate School that the youth of this University will be enabled to form more fully those habits of mind on which the soundness of public opinion so greatly depends. Along with a wide outlook on life, and with aspirations for disinterested service to society, they will acquire that faculty of clear, honest, impartial thinking that is so essential for the solution of present-day problems.

Your Graduate School is to be dedicated to the pursuit of the liberal arts and sciences, with special emphasis, I take it, on literature and history, philosophy and economics, art and social studies. There is to be no sacrifice here, nor any disparagement of what we know as the humanities in favour of a narrower professional or technical training. Princeton has never turned a deaf ear, and will not do so now, to the mighty voices that speak to us from the pages of the past, or to the teachings of poets and bards, singers and seers, philosophers, dramatists, orators, and statesmen. Physical and biological science will of course continue to bulk largely in your curriculum, but rather as departments of the knowledge that is cultivated for its own sake than in the spirit of any limited specialization. And in these days when there is simply no end to the scientific discoveries for which the world is ripe and ready, we shall be reminded by the results of your work in these fields that many of the greatest triumphs of modern invention have owed everything to the patient and unselfish researches of the professor in his laboratory.

You have before you an immense range of work, and one that is not likely to diminish or grow less as knowledge advances. But your reward will be great. It is because Princeton is giving fresh guarantees for her contribution to national value and national success that Princeton's friends are with her to-day. They recognize her activity as one form, and a most important form, of national service. They seek to strengthen her hands while she is proclaiming her high ideals of learning and scholarship and impressing those ideals on the minds of those whom she is sending forth to be leaders of thought and action in the world. If it be true that the university in these latter days is one of the highest expressions of the soul of a people, providing the community with the moral and intellectual equipment that links it with all that is best and greatest, and rendering possible the attainment of the nobler aims of life, Princeton may be trusted to continue to "deserve well of the republic".

McGILL CONSERVATORIUM OF MUSIC.[1]

May it please your Excellency,—

WITHOUT wishing to delay the gracious words in which you will be pleased—as Visitor of the University—to declare this building open, and to dedicate it to the purposes which it is now to serve, it may not be inappropriate if I should venture to offer a few introductory remarks. They will bear, in general terms, on the art to which this house is consecrated, and on the relations in which a Department of Music must stand to the varied activities of what I hope I may be permitted to characterize as a modern and progressive University.

In a recent work of fiction entitled "An Impossible Visit," the writer brings an angel down to earth, and describes the heavenly visitant's astonishment at the works and ways of mortal men. Everything about them seemed strange to this celestial being, the clothes they wore, the food they ate, the houses they dwelt in, to say nothing of the language they spoke. One thing, and one thing only he recognized, and at once made himself at home with—a violin. There is a profound truth in such an imaginary situation. Music has been well said to be the speech of angels. It is more than that, it is a universal language. Nature has made provision for music everywhere. The laws of sound are the same for all. They are fixed and rooted in the very heart of nature herself. You know what Byron says:—

> There is music in the sighing of a reed,
> There is music in the gushing of a rill,
> There is music in all things, if men had ears,
> Their earth is but an echo of the spheres.

[1] Address delivered at the opening of the Conservatorium, 14 October, 1904.

And surely there is something satisfying to our fancy in the thought that music, which is so human, is also more than human—that it may follow the same laws in all inhabited worlds, and even in Heaven itself. It may in fact be cosmical. Speaking of the music of the spheres, a recent writer has advanced the daring thought that one day perhaps our hearts may be attuned to hear "planetary anthems and sidereal symphonies". The range of the visual faculties has been extended by the telescope and the spectroscope: why may not some magnifying instruments still be invented such as shall enable us to catch the choral harmonies of the created universe, the stars, "for ever singing as they shine," and all the other instruments of the celestial orchestra?

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that music is valuable to mortal man from a twofold point of view. First, as bringing a veritable culture to the individual, besides furnishing a means of pure and healthful enjoyment. We all know, too, what a solace it is in times of trouble and distress. Plato rightly said that music was given to men not with the sole view of pleasing their senses, but rather for appeasing the troubles of their souls. And in the same way Luther, using another language, tells us, "It drives away the devil, and makes man joyful". Long ago it was recognized as the panacea for the ills of human life: "when Orpheus played upon his lyre the heart of Pluto relented, Eurydice escaped, the wheel of Ixion stopped, the vultures ceased to torment Tityos, the thirst of Tantalus was forgotten, and the goddess of death did not remember to call away the infant or the aged from sweet life". Secondly, music is a valuable factor in the development of our social nature, and in promoting social organization. Human intercourse is not dependent solely on the spoken or the written word. Music has its part to play as one of the means of expression by which we bridge over the distances that tend to separate individuals in human society. Even that somewhat arid philosopher, the late Mr. Herbert Spencer, admitted that "in its bearings on human happiness this emotional lan-

guage which music develops and refines is only second to the language of the intellect, perhaps not even second to it. It brings us very close together, soul to soul, touching us in all our common feelings, and eliminating all the accidents of birth, race, speech, station, or different walks in life." A thoughtful American writer says, "Music is one of the most valuable auxiliaries in the work of human civilization and refinement, preparing the heart for all else that is beautiful, opening up avenues of pleasure in other arts, inspiring a quicker sensibility to all the loveliness of nature, and softening our feelings to one another. More than any other art, more than painting, sculpture, architecture, or even poetry, music—perhaps the least material of them all—passes directly to our consciousness, expresses the spiritual element that is in us, giving utterance to our deepest feelings, our ideals, our aspirations." "The meaning of music goes deep," said Thomas Carlyle, "a kind of inarticulate unfathomable speech which leads us to the edge of the Infinite, and lets us for a moment gaze into it."

Recognizing this power to awaken, even in the hearts of many who may be inaccessible to any other form of high emotion, a sense of beauty, order, and harmony, the great Napoleon held that music was the art to which the law-giver should give most attention. Long ago, too, Confucius is reported to have said in language which anticipates the well-known dictum of Fletcher of Saltoun about the laws and the songs of a country—"Desire ye to know whether a land is well governed, and its people have good morals? Hear its music." Such reflexions may well serve to deepen the wonder which I ventured to express in this hall some weeks ago at the fact that music in many centres should be left to take its chance as an instrument of education. For the most part it is relegated to establishments for the board and education of young ladies. To me it is a personal satisfaction this day to be able to recall the fact that in the Inaugural Lecture delivered at McGill nearly nine years ago, I stated my conviction that music is as necessary, along with other

art studies, as counteractives to the exclusive cultivation of the intellect, as are the indispensable exercises in which nerve and muscle are strengthened and developed on the campus. Our function as educators does not stop short at the accumulation of knowledge. We must strive for beauty as well as truth. We must cultivate imagination and sympathy as well as intellect. Otherwise, how shall we attain to Plato's ideal of spiritual culture—though the world ought to have been moved forward since his day? Certainly the Greeks had a better appreciation than many modern nations of the value of music as a mental and moral discipline. Hear what the great philosopher says in his Republic: "And therefore I said, Glaucon, musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the secret places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace, and making the soul graceful of him who is rightly educated, or ungraceful of him who is ill-educated".[1]

At the same time it must be conceded that the relation of music to the University curriculum is a subject not free from difficulty. If I may venture to speak for McGill, I shall say here and now that our aim in connexion with this study is a twofold aim. Firstly, we desire to give improved opportunities to those who may wish to follow music as an element of a liberal culture. Secondly, in this Conservatorium, and in the more advanced Faculty of Music which we trust will grow from it, we intend to provide for the needs of those who wish to specialize in music, and make it their life-work. There is no reason why Montreal should not have a School of Music, where everything that the composer, performer, and teacher needs shall be taught, taught methodically, taught efficiently, taught thoroughly. May I add that we look for an added

[1] So John Milton—"Scheme of an Improved Education for Boys," 1644. "The solemn and divine harmonies of music . . . if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have great power over dispositions and manners to smooth and make them gentle." The last words are a reminiscence of—

Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

interest also in the life of the University, through its relation to this department? We want to bring our students, and our staff too, more into actual contact with music, so that we may, in due time, undertake something in the way of guiding the music of this city, and of the community at large.

I have said more than once before that it is to me a most surprising phenomenon that a city of the importance of Montreal should still be without any Grand Organ in a public hall, where recitals of music might be given from time to time. I do not know how long it will take us to achieve such a practical aim as the arranging of symphony concerts, and generally providing by our own efforts here, orchestral and choral music of the highest class. If we can follow in the steps of Yale University where I have had some conversation with Mr. Horatio Parker on this subject, we shall be doing well. In his last report Professor Parker gives an excellent statement of the objects which he has already succeeded in realizing down at New Haven: "Besides giving instruction to its own students, a wider aim of the department of music is to touch both the University and the community at as many points as practicable, in the belief that each new contact may strengthen the bond between the University and the Town, and elicit from each a larger sympathy with the things of the other".

One word to those who are immediately connected with the work of teaching in this institution. I shall speak it in the language used in addressing a company of young musicians by the great Italian patriot and statesman, Mazzini. In endeavouring to set before his audience high ideals such as would not only secure them artistic success, but also enable them to realize the true end of living, Mazzini said: "The art you cultivate is holy, and you must render your lives holy if you would be its priests. The art entrusted to your ministry is closely bound up with the progress of civilization, and may become the very breath, soul, and sacred incense of that civilization. Music is the harmonious voice

of creation, an echo of the invisible world, one note of the Divine concord, which the entire Universe is some day to sound. How can you hope to seize that note if not by lifting your minds to the contemplation of the Universe, viewing with the eye of faith things invisible to the unbelieving, and compassing the whole creation in your study and affection?"

ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.[1]

THIS is a great day for Scotland! I should have been glad to come even further than from Montreal, in order to take part in such a celebration. It is always a pleasure to visit New York. This is not the first time I have had to thank the official position which I hold up in Montreal, rather than any individual merits of my own, for the opportunity of getting into close touch with considerable sections of your people, both here and in other important centres. I am a great admirer of the American nation—I suppose I may still use that designation, unless you tell me that you want to adopt the brand-new combination which Sir Edward Clarke has so obligingly designed for you on the other side. I am especially an admirer of the Scottish portion of your people. We all know what Scotchmen have been privileged to do for the building up of these United States. As for Canada, it was a Scotchman who made us a present of that country—the Fraser Highlander who guided Wolfe's army up the Heights of Abraham. Speaking before this audience, I may say I am glad he was not a hated Hessian! And to-night Scotchmen all the world over are drawn together in the bonds of a joyous and a loving brotherhood. Let me begin, therefore, by thanking you for the opportunity you have given me of taking part in the proceedings of so large and representative an assemblage of those whom I am proud to claim as my Scottish kinsfolk.

There is something inspiring in the sense of contact with others of the same origin—with fellow-countrymen—in a land that is warmed by another sun than that which shines—or

[1] An Address delivered before the Society, New York, 30 November, 1904.

very often refuses to shine—upon the country that is so much in our thoughts to-night. Why is it that, in spite of the many jokes which have been made about their preference for *other* countries, Scotchmen are so intensely patriotic, and so keenly, so passionately tenacious of all their national traditions? Probably no other people on the face of the earth—except perhaps the Jews, to whom we sometimes hear ourselves compared—has ever given so strong proof of a well-marked and unmistakable national character and individuality. We stand by our country and by each other. No matter where we may roam, Scotland is with us still: "the old land," as Stevenson says, "is still the true love, the others are but pleasant infidelities".

Hence it is that no saint in the calendar—not even St. Peter himself—holds a wider sway over the hearts of men than Andrew, this patron saint of ours. He seems, in fact, to have solved the problem of universal empire. From Bonnie Scotland, which was given him for a special possession, he has passed with wandering Scots to every country of the known world, till we may say of his original diocese, as was said of ancient Rome, that "Scotland is the whole world and all the world is Scotch". For me no more sacred spot exists in the land of my birth—not even Iona itself—than the wind-swept headland to which the bones of Scotland's patron saint are fabled to have been borne, long centuries ago. I once heard a former Lord Rector of St. Andrews University, the late Marquis of Bute, discourse learnedly on the precise character of the bones, three fingers and the fragment of an arm, that were brought to St. Andrews *via* Constantinople and Rome in the eighth century of our era. From that day to this the city of St. Andrews has been part and parcel of our Scottish annals, civil, ecclesiastical, and educational. And now in our own time, even since I left it, it is enjoying the ministrations and the patronage of a new Lord Rector—another Andrew—one of your own citizens, whose absence to-night has been regretted by your President, but who is helping St. Andrews to live up to its high traditions and to secure to it the place which it most rightfully holds

in the hearts and affections of our countrymen at home and abroad.

From the printed report of your last year's proceedings—which the Chairman was good enough to send to me, by way of strengthening me, I suppose, for the ordeal which I am now undergoing—it is easy to discover that your New York Society proceeds on pretty much the same lines as those with which I am familiar elsewhere. Like other Scots abroad, you seem to have taken to yourselves one of our national mottoes "Dinna forget"; do not yourselves forget, and take special care that you do not allow anyone else to overlook the fact that there is such a place as Scotland.

Speaking figuratively, we Scotchmen in America are wearing the kilt all the time. There are gatherings of the clans, especially at national festivals such as this, and also in connexion with our Caledonian Societies and our Burns' Clubs: and we have always with us the tartan, and the pipes, and golf, and curling, and haggis, and heather, and grouse, and oatmeal porridge, and I suppose whisky too. And then the Scottish type! In all our assemblies you will find a goodly number of the representatives of that grave, serious, thoughtful, provident, kindly type of national character that has been evolved out of our Scottish past, with a curious blending of the Shorter Catechism and the Multiplication Table, the Paraphrases and strong drink; often a "bundle of contradictory qualities—greedy and generous, worldly and pious, practical and idealistic, prejudiced and open-minded". But many-sided, and there the Scotsman's strength lies. A long career of conflict and hardships at home made him a citizen of the world. Owing to past associations, he was acceptable on the continent of Europe in times when Englishmen were not. Here in New York you know your multiplication table off by heart, and with its aid you have—most of you—managed to bring yourselves, not to put too fine a point on it, beyond the reach of want. Around this festive board the *Scots wha' hae* are in a distinct and obvious majority: as to those *wha' hae na*, if they have to remain outside, they at least get the benefit of the annual collection!

But I must not be led into speaking of the Scottish people before I have paid my tribute to the land that gave them birth. This—the Land o' cakes—is really the subject of the toast to which I have been asked to respond. Well, gentlemen, I am sure you will agree with me in the view that there is no finer land under the sun—though, as I have said already, the sun often neglects to shine on it. Scotland is simply one of the best made countries in the universe, and it must have taken a lot of planning! It is in fact a sort of epitome of the world's geography. Where will you find in such small compass grander mountain ranges, deeper glens, more fertile straths, more lovely rivers and rippling burns, more romantic lochs, or such a charming combination of smiling cornfields and unfruitful, but by no means unattractive, moorland? What of the islands of the west, set like jewels in a diadem of summer seas? When my mind takes me back to the perfection of loveliness I have seen from the top of some Scottish hill, I begin to regret that distance makes it increasingly difficult to emulate the example of good old Professor Blackie, who solemnly registered a vow, in the earlier days of his long life, that he would never allow a year to pass without making the acquaintance of some new part of the land he loved so well.

> We canna break the bonds that God decrees to bind
> But aye we'll be the children of the heather and the wind:
> Far away from home, oh, it's still for you and me
> That the broom is blowing bonnie in the North Countrie.

And surely the Scottish national character has taken its colour and tone from the land in which our Scottish fathers were born and bred. There are those who think that praise is harmful and unlucky, and that after eulogy certain formulas should be employed to avert the evil eye. But what is sometimes complained of as excessive self-laudation on the part of the Scotch is really forced upon us by the failure of others to appreciate our real merits! I think it was from Capetown to Edinburgh that on the occasion of such a festival as this there was once flashed along the wires "Here's tae ye: wha's like hiz: damned few". The hostile critic says that Scotch-

men do not really need to pray for a "guid conceit" of themselves, not knowing that the proverbial surgical operation should be performed, not on Scottish folk, but on his own wooden head. How can we stand up against the gibes of an envious world—or of that part of it which we have not yet succeeded in annexing—unless we make it plain that we believe in ourselves, and in each other? You know that they even go the length of saying that the reason why St. Andrew is our patron saint is that he was one of the apostles who discovered the boy with the loaves and fishes. That spiteful person, Dr. Samuel Johnson, used to maintain that there was no road a Scotchman liked so well as the road to London. And there are some who will describe a Scotchman to you as one who keeps the Sabbath and everything else he can lay hands on! That would amount to positive dishonesty, and such a phenomenon as a dishonest Scotchman is altogether unknown.

No doubt there is a certain strain of what is known as "canniness" or "pawkiness" in the Scottish national character. In this connexion I always think of the prayer, which does not find a place either in Dean Ramsay's "Reminiscences" or in Sir Archibald Geikie's recent collection of Scottish anecdotes—the prayer in which a Scottish minister tries to make, as it were, a bargain with the powers above, a sort of "celestial contract": "Lord give us grace: for if thou give us not grace we will not give thee glory: and wha' would win by that Lord?" Who will say that the Scotch are not full of humour—albeit sometimes of the unconscious kind? You might as well insinuate that we are wanting in feeling and sentiment. Of course we know when to put sentiment aside—especially in matters of business—but it is true to say that our people have been cradled and reared in an atmosphere of sentiment. Take our songs, our history, our military annals, including the Jacobite uprising, and our romantic literature. We are not, to be sure, a demonstrative people by nature: on the contrary we have the advantage of a certain imperturbability that often stands us in good stead when, as a matter of fact, our hearts are deeply charged with feeling—when the lump rises in our throats, and the eyes begin to

swim, and for all that the exterior is grave, placid, and imperturbable as before. We are not demonstrative, but we are *clannish* where kith, kin, and kintra are concerned: shoulder to shoulder has been the motto of "brither Scots" all the world over.

Apart from the feeling of attachment to our native land, which accounts for a patriotism that is not questioned even by our detractors, the link which binds us together is a certain community of sentiment, inspired in us from our earliest years by the influences which surround us even in our cradles. I do not for a moment mean to imply that all Scotchmen think alike. Far from it. Scotchmen would have a much lower opinion than they have of each other if they all saw eye to eye on ordinary topics of current controversy, to say nothing of those subjects of theological and "metapheesical" import which are so dear to their disputatious hearts.

But listen to what a recent writer in the "Scotsman" has said of the present ecclesiastical dispute:—

"We have had enough of it. We have had more than seventy years of it. It is time we tried to realize what we are and what is our relation to the things that are not seen. There is a picture drawn by Louis Stevenson on which every one has looked at one time or another. It is that picture he depicts in the Picturesque Notes of Edinburgh of the two sisters, inhabiting a single room, who quarrelled over a knotty point of theology. Never a word was there spoken between them, black or white, from that day forward. "A chalk line drawn upon the floor separated their two domains. So for years they existed in a hateful silence . . . and at night, in the dark watches, each could hear the breathing of her enemy. Never did four walls look on an uglier spectacle. . . . A figure this of much that is typical of Scotland! there is but a street between the Assembly Halls, and yet there they sit enchanted, and in damnatory accents pray for each other's growth in grace. . . . The chalk lines are thickly drawn, and run through the midst of many private houses. . . . How many of the bells might rest silently in their

steeples, how many of these ugly churches might be demolished and turned into useful building material, if people who think almost exactly the same thoughts about religion would condescend to worship God under the same roof. But there are the chalk lines. And which is to pocket pride and speak the foremost word? Ah! the chalk lines have multiplied since then, and have grown thicker and more glaring than ever! The great writer voices the feeling of the man in the street, of the great multitude who have no stock in sectarianism. Let the protagonists ponder the picture: or else it needeth no seer to tell that ecclesiasticism in this ill-fated country will have meted out to it a measure of the wine of astonishment which will make it stagger to its doom."

But when all is said as to the points that divide us, it must still be remembered that the influence of scenery, of history, of poetry, and of song have all gone to the moulding of our national character, and have produced a type which asserts itself, to a large extent, in the individuality of almost every member of the race. Shrewdness and sagacity, the faculty of acquisitiveness—with a strong under-current of generosity—tenacity of purpose, which is sometimes mistaken for aggressiveness, power of adaptation to unfamiliar circumstances, and a passionate clinging to tradition: these seem to be amongst the main characteristics of our national genius. It is to qualities such as these—along with the power of making a little oatmeal go a long way—that our countrymen owe the position they have made for themselves in this and other lands. Their patriotism is not a limited patriotism. They are loyal not only to their own country, not only to the land they left, but also to the land they love. They are all over the British Empire, and the Empire could not very well get along without them. And beyond the limits even of the Empire the Scotch are well to the front everywhere. They are citizens of the world. From the beginning of time they have been pressing onward, overstepping the narrow boundaries in which other nations are content to be confined. Long ago the conquering Romans built a wall from the Solway to the Tyne, which they hoped would keep our Caledonian

ancestors from passing southward to vex and disturb the country—more highly favoured by nature—which they were gradually bringing under the influence of their civilization. That barrier crumbled away and became ineffective for its purpose, though it remains in part to this day as a lasting monument of the thoroughness with which the Romans did their work in the world. But neither it nor any other obstacle, material or immaterial, availed to keep back the onward march of the persistent and pertinacious Scot. After annexing England, he looked abroad: and lo! America, Australia, India, Africa—all are his!

And on St. Andrew's night he is busy celebrating, all over the world which he has conquered, the greatest of his national festivals. Not in the spirit of vainglorious braggadocio, but with something of a definite practical purpose. The whole duty of Scotsmen is not fulfilled in boasting of their ancestry: they must endeavour to catch the *spirit* also of their forefathers, and to preserve and reproduce in their descendants the virtues which have made their country great. That is why to-night they are mindful of all who, whatever be their rank in life, and wherever their lot may be cast, can claim that they bear the Scottish name. Everywhere to-night the thoughts of loyal Scotsmen go forth to the country of their birth or origin, and to their brethren throughout the world—"in all changes of fortune, and down to the gates of death, loyal and loving one to another". These are the words of Robert Louis Stevenson's prayer, now engraved on the bronze tablet erected to his memory in St. Giles' Cathedral. In far-away Samoa—an exile in death as in life from the "old land and the old kindly people"—he lies low upon his mountain bed. He had fled from the "quaint grey castled city" that he loved so well, "where the bells clash of a Sunday, and the wind squalls, and the salt showers fly and beat". But he never forgot his dearly loved native-land. "I do not even know," he said, "if I desire to live there; but let me hear, in some far land, a kindred voice sing out 'Oh, why left I my hame,' and it seems at once as if no beauty under the kind heavens, and no society of the wise and good, can repay

me for absence from my country. And though I think I would rather die elsewhere, yet in my heart of hearts I long to be buried among good Scots clods." You know how he puts it in his poetry :—

> Be it granted to me to behold you again in dying,
> Hills of home ! and to hear again the call ;
> Hear about the graves of the martyrs the peewees crying
> And hear no more at all.

So it is with all of us. When we have exhausted all the glories of our common ancestry, there remains for each one among us—no matter how deeply rooted he may feel in the country of his own or his father's adoption—a blank that can only be filled by a reference to the personal ties that bind us to the land of our fathers. Where friends and kinsfolk are concerned, that is a blank that each and all of us must supply in the sacred solitude of his own heart. Such personal ties are not the least potent of the bonds that unite us to each other and to the land we love—bonds which together with the other things I have spoken of generate a feeling of affection for Scotland in the hearts of Scots abroad that may be said to be unique in its intensity. Surely, gentlemen, we may unite our voices and speak to Scotland to-night across the ocean, saying in the language that Burns applies to what was with him at least a less enduring form of human affection :—

> Till all the seas gang dry, my dear,
> And the rocks melt wi' the sun :
> I will love thee still, my dear,
> While the sands o' life shall run.

MEMORIAL SERVICE HELD IN CONNEXION WITH THE FUNERAL OF LORD STRATHCONA.[1]

Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings.—Prov. xxii. 29.

Just thirteen years ago we met in this hall to join in the national mourning for a great and good Queen: to-day we have, as a University, personal and intimate reasons for sharing in the general grief for the most distinguished Canadian of his time—our Chancellor, who built this College, and called it by Victoria's royal name. Before I speak these words, the grave will have closed, in the homeland, at the heart of the Empire, over the mortal and perishable remains of him whom we all revered. He had been "crowned," to use the words of the Psalmist, "with glory and honour"; and he died, as he would have wished, in harness—thinking up to the last, as I shall tell you later on, of what he could do for others. Throughout our wide Dominion, and indeed all over the English-speaking world, it may be doubted if any individual has ever been more greatly mourned. And if it now devolves on me, as the chief executive officer of the University, to pay a fitting tribute to his memory, I can at least advance the qualification that for nearly twenty years I have been constantly associated with him, and that from the first I learned to appreciate his noble qualities, in particular his whole-hearted devotion to the cause of education.

But does it not at once convey some impression of his wonderful career to be reminded that when I met him first—when nearly two decades ago he asked me to come to McGill—he had already passed the allotted span of three-score years and

[1] Royal Victoria College, January, 1914.

ten? The date of his birth takes us back to the close of the reign of George the Third, and he came to Canada in the year after Queen Victoria ascended the throne. At the public meeting which the citizens of Montreal held at the Board of Trade in 1900, and which resulted in the erection of the Strathcona monument in Dominion Square, he told us that he could then look back on more that sixty years of work in Canada. Already for some time past, he had held his high office as the nation's representative in London—an office which would have sufficed in itself, even apart from his great personality, to mark him out as one of the most distinguished citizens of the Empire. But it was easy to see that at the root and foundation of the high position he had won lay the long years of preparation for it. From his native Scotland he had taken to the Labrador all the best results of a careful home training, which revealed itself in the remarkable rapidity with which he rose to the very top in the service of the Hudson Bay Company; and when the call for action came to him in connexion with the troubles in the North-west, it found him a resolute and experienced man of affairs, who knew the hearts of others as they knew his. Then came the period of service at Ottawa and Montreal, which completed his preparation, and gave him such a place in the esteem and affection of his fellow-countrymen that none but he could be looked to when there was a need for some one to take up the rôle of Canadian representative in London.

I pass lightly by the historical aspects of the various stages of his long and honourable career. In conversation, what he liked most to dwell upon was his experiences as trader, factor, and commissioner of the Hudson Bay Company. Of that connexion he was very proud, believing as he did that the wise rule of the Company had much to do with the possession by Canada of the Great Lone Land, Prince Rupert's Land. And he used to refer with very special satisfaction to the services which he had been privileged to render in the way of obtaining what he called a "proper and moderate solution" of the difficulties resulting from the first Riel rebellion. As to the Canadian Pacific Railway, in con-

nexion with which the popular imagination has always inclined to exalt him above all others—probably because of the historic picture of the driving of the "last spike," and by reason of the fact that since its successful completion he has bulked so largely in the public eye—let it be stated that he well knew what was due to others as well as to himself, and remembered to give credit where credit was due. In accepting a presentation in London in November, 1907, he used these words: "had it not been for the cordial co-operation of all my colleagues who undertook the contract, it would have been impossible to have carried it through. Happily we were all in perfect accord." In the same generous spirit I have heard him more than once, when acknowledging compliments for his great contributions to educational interests, remind those to whom he was speaking that another Canadian had done even more than himself—Sir William Macdonald. I shall say nothing of his services to the Dominion and the Empire in connexion with the Pacific Cable, and faster Atlantic transportation. But there are two aspects of his contributions to education that ought here to be specified: they are sufficient in themselves to prove that his was no stereotyped or conventional form of benevolence. I refer first to scientific medical education, and secondly to the higher education of women. In both of these departments he was a pioneer, and showed a power of initiative from which this University and this community will long continue to derive practical benefit.

The last stage of Lord Strathcona's varied career was spent, as I have said, in London; and there must be few Canadians who can have failed to appreciate the great benefit we have derived from having him as the official representative there of the first of the "new nations within the Empire". It gave the Dominion added prestige and dignity. I am not introducing any controversial topic when I say that, in the days when Mr. Chamberlain was Colonial Secretary, he heartily sympathized with that statesman's aspiration that our Empire should become more conscious of itself. Of course he kept scrupulously aloof from anything of the nature

of party politics. But I think he would have accepted the definition of the problem given the other day in the "Spectator"—the "unprecedented problem of a central democracy settling its terms of association with younger democracies so that the union of the whole, while symbolizing Freedom, may become more intense and more apt for self-defence". His most notable act in this connexion was the provision, equipment, and maintenance for service in South Africa of the regiment known as Strathcona's Horse, a project conceived and carried out in the grand spirit of an ancient Athenian liturgy. Indeed I often think of Lord Strathcona as the modern incarnation of the virtues which students of Aristotle's "Ethics" know as "magnificence" and "high-mindedness". There was a crisis in imperial affairs, and our Chancellor seized the psychological moment for action. I have a photograph which might be fitly framed alongside of the driving of the last spike in the Canadian Pacific railroad. Both are historic. It represents the scene at Buckingham Palace when in April, 1901, King Edward presented his colour to our Canadian Troopers, the scene of which a memorable word-picture was painted at the time by Mr. A. G. Hales.

"Once more," says that writer, "the warlike music flooded the air with sound that fired the blood; then over the terrace came an old man, whose white beard rivalled the snow on which he trod. He reached the spot where Alexandra stood, and bowed before the Queen; then, turning, walked towards the King, and Edward met him with extended hand, and gave him a kindly greeting, whilst Roberts, Buller, and a dozen more vied with each other to do him honour. It was the man who raised the regiment, the loyal Strathcona, whose name the regiment bears; and, if he leaves no other monument, his name will live in English hearts when many another name has been forgot. The King and that old man stood side by side, the sunbeams chased the shadows from the snow, the flag, rich in its wealth of colouring, flaunted bravely in the breeze; then all the echoes rang and rang again to the cheering of our sons who came to us across the seas."

Some are asking (you may already have seen the question stated in an English journal) whether men who have been so fortunate as Lord Strathcona are really entitled to all the wealth that has passed into their possession. I make no judgment upon that, except to say that it is well for the world when great wealth is in the hands of those who have anything like the sense of responsibility that animated him, and anything like the same desire to serve the public interest. These were the heroic days of Canadian history, when individual pioneers were privileged to write their names in large characters across the whole breadth of a continent. And after all he was no mere sordid seeker after gain, nor did his material prosperity ever blunt the edge of his moral and social ideals and aspirations. In a word, his soul was not submerged, as is sometimes unfortunately the case, by the gathering tide of worldly success. Duty was his guiding star—duty and conscience.

We ought to be glad too—ought we not?—in our day and generation, that Canada can boast of him as a man of unspotted integrity. His word was as good as his bond. But he carefully weighed pretty nearly every word he uttered, and most certainly every word he ever wrote. None could apply the pruning knife more remorselessly than he to the language of any document for which he was expected to make himself in any way responsible. He was above everything accurate even in the use of words. I fancy he had done most of his reading in early life, when in the lone silence of the Labrador he acquired that stock of ideas, and that power of expression, which stood him in such good stead when he had to address himself, comparatively late in life, to the difficult art of public speaking. And he could appreciate a telling phrase, or the pointed turn of a sentence. I remember when he asked me to supply him with a Latin motto for his new coat of arms, which had hitherto contained the one English word "Perseverance". When I inquired what idea he would like to have expressed, he half-whispered "In the van". I gave him "agmina ducens," and there it stands to-day. And yet for all his eagerness to be "in the

van," one can never think of him as anything but essentially modest and unassertive. You all know what his bearing was on the various occasions on which he was seen in our midst, inwardly glad, no doubt, to receive the homage of our love and praise, but genuinely anxious at the same time that no one should be put to any inconvenience because of him. And all the qualities of which he gave evidence in public were familiar to those who knew him in his home. The death of his wife, but ten short weeks before his own, was naturally the greatest sorrow of his whole life. One who saw much of him at the time has told me how it seemed to shake his soul to its depths, and thereafter he was as a stricken man. The friends who met the aged pair on the occasion of their last visit to Montreal will recall some of the instances of the kindly humour that always characterized their intercourse with each other: and it is a satisfaction to remember, now they are both gone, that through their loving and devoted daughter their lineage is continued in the third generation.

Lord Strathcona lived a strenuous and a useful life. I have said that it was characterized by courage and high resolve in critical and anxious times. As some one said the other day, he always showed that he could rise to the height of great occasions. But alongside of that should be placed the continuous response to constant applications for public and private charity, to which his resources were fortunately adequate—a charity that was never exercised, be it remembered, in mechanical fashion, but always with some personal touch of kindly courtesy and consideration. Even in his latest days he was thinking of what he could do for others: and it ought to be mentioned here that, evidently remembering of his own accord a certain payment which he was in the habit of making to the Royal Victoria College about the time of the New Year, he cabled me the sum of $45,000 this day last week, practically on the very day before he died. He was given to hospitality; and his Montreal home was long a recognized place of meeting for many who, under the divided conditions of our civic life, seldom met anywhere else.

He was full of the conviction that in our province French and English must perforce agree to live together, for the very good reason that here neither of the two races can live without the other.

And now his eager and indomitable spirit is quenched in death. Low lies that good grey head that all men knew. But his works will live after him, and the record of his life, from the days of his pioneering in the Labrador to his funeral service at Westminster. They offered as you know to bury him in the Abbey, and right worthy would he have been to mingle his dust with England's mighty dead. We may be glad and rejoice that such a compliment was paid to him, while we need not regret in the circumstances that the dictates of natural affection were allowed to prevail. He sleeps in the grave that was opened for his wife little more than two short months ago, so that in death they are not divided.

Especially in McGill University Lord Strathcona's memory will ever be cherished. Generation after generation will continue to look back on his life and his work as an inspiration to high endeavour. It has created for us, as indeed for the whole of Canada, a great and stirring tradition.

Venerable patron of learning, philanthropist, patriot, statesman, man of affairs, magnificent and high-minded public servant, the University which has owed so much to your wise counsel and your unfailing generosity bids you a last and sad farewell!

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